280 h 8

AN

AUTHENTIC COPY

OF THE

CORRESPONDENCE IN INDIA,

BETWEEN THE

COUNTRY POWERS

AND THE HONOURABLE THE

EAST INDIA COMPANY's SERVANTS;

CONTAINING

AMONGST MANY OTHERS THE LETTERS OF

Governor Hastings,	James Fraser, Esq.
J. Macpherson, Esq.	John Bristow, Esq.
J. Stables, Esq.	David Anderson, Esq.
E. Wheler, Esq.	General Stibbert,
Sir John Cumming,	Col. Morgan,
Nath. Middleton, Esq.	Major Palmer,
Francis Fowke, Esq.	Major Brown,

&c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c.

TOGETHER WITH THE

MINUTES OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA.

The Whole forming a Collection of the moſt Intereſting India-Papers, which were laid before Parliament in the Seſſion of 1786.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. DEBRETT, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

M DCC LXXXVII.


G. R. III.
DOMINUS ILLUMINATIO MEA

Contents to Volume the Second.

Papers relative to Charges IV. *and* XVI.

Page

GENERAL Letter to Bengal, Feb. 14, 1783 — 5
Princes of Oude, and Misdemeanors in Oude . 8
Letter from the Baboo Begum, Master of the Nabob Asoph-ul-Dowlah, to Gov. Hastings, received Dec. 22, 1775 — — — — — 8
Letter from Mr. Nath. Middleton to Mr. John Bristow, Resident at the Vizier's Court, dated Lucknow, Oct. 23, 1782 — — — — 9
Bengal Secret Consultations, August 28, 1783 — 10
Ditto, Sept. 22, 1783 — — — 11
General Letter from the Hon. Court of Directors, Feb. 14, 1783 — — — — 12
Bengal Secret Consultations, Oct. 21, 1783 — 13
General Letter from Bengal, Oct. 20, 1783 — 15
Bengal Secret Consultations, Oct. 13, 1783 ibid.
Account of the resumed Jaghires in the Fussullee Year 1189 — — — — 16
Secret Letter from Bengal, Nov. 25, 1783 — 18
List of Jagheers accompanying the preceding Letter 19
Bengal Secret Consultations, Nov. 25, 1783 — ibid.
Ditto, Dec. 16, 1783 — — — ibid.
Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Nabob Hyder Beg Cawn — — — — — 20
Bengal Secret Consultations, Sept. 7, 1782 — 21
Translation of a Letter from Hyder Beg Khawn to Major William Davy, received at Calcutta, Sept. 6, 1782 23
Bengal General Consultations, Sept. 23, 1782 — 26
Bengal Secret Consultations, Nov. 18, 1782 — 29
Bengal General Consultations, Nov. 25, 1782 — 31
Bengal Secret Consultations, June 12, 1783 — 32
Charges against Mr. Richard Johnson — — 38
Letter from the Nabob Vizier to the Resident — 47
Mr. Middleton's Defence to the Governor General and Council — — — — 64
Letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Hastings, dated Lucknow, March 25, 1782 — — — 69
List of Mr. Middleton's Public Correspondence with the Hon. Board, from the Period of signing the Treaty of Chunar, to the 23d of October, 1782, when he delivered over the Residency to Mr. Bristow — — 72
Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Honourable Board, dated Lucknow, Sept. 17, 1782 — — 77

Page

Extracts of Letters from the Reſident at Oude to the Governor General and Council, reſpecting the Conduct of Fazzula Cawn — — — 80
Bengal Secret Conſultations, Oct. 21, 1783 — 86
The Governor General's Obſervations on Mr. Johnſon's Defence — — — — 88
General Letter from Bengal, Dec. 30, 1783 — 90
Two Letters from the Nabob Vizier — — ibid.
Bengal Secret Conſultations, Feb. 15, 1781 — ibid.
Ditto, June 4, 1781 — — — 92
Correſpondence between Mr. Anderſon and Mr. Briſtow, relative to Mirza Junglee, Brother to the Nabob of Oude — — — 93
Letter from Mr. David Anderſon to Mr. John Briſtow, dated Camp near Gualear, Feb. 9, 1783 ibid.
Letter from Mr. A. to Mr. B. dated Camp near Bhet, March 6, 1783 — — — 94
Letter from Mr. John Briſtow to Mr. David Anderſon, dated Lucknow, March 26, 1783 — 95
Letter from Mr. David Anderſon to Mr. John Briſtow, dated Camp near Gualier, April 6, 1783 — 96
Letter from Mr. John Briſtow to Mr. David Anderſon, dated Lucknow, April 22, 1783 — — 97
Letters to the Hon. Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor General, and the Members of the Supreme Council, Fort William — — — 98
Inſtructions from the Governor General to Mr. John Briſtow — — — 99
Conſultations, Sept. 29, 1783 — 111
From the Nabob Vizier to the Governor General, Letter the firſt, received March 28, 1783 — 119
Second Letter from and to the ſame, received April 7, 1783 — — — 123
Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn to Mr. Briſtow, dated the 11th of Rubbeal ul Owel, or Feb. 14, 1783 — 139
Letter from and to the ſame, dated the 16th of Rubbeal ul Owel, or Feb. 19, 1783 — — — ibid.
Letter from Mr. Briſtow to Hyder Beg Cawen, dated the 10th of Rubbeal Owal, or Feb. 23, 1783 — 141
Shooka, or Letter, from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Briſtow, which was returned by Mr. Briſtow to Hyder Beg Cawn, with the preceding Letter — ibid.
Letter to the Hon. Court of Directors of the Hon. United Eaſt India Company, dated Fort William, Oct. 20, 1783 — — — 159
Minutes of Mr. Macpherſon, Mr. Stables, and Mr. Haſtings, in Conſultations, Oct. 21, 1783 — 164
From the Nabob Vizier, received Nov. 29, 1783 — 175
Conſultations, Dec. 27, 1783 — 180
Bengal Secret Conſultations, Dec. 31, 1783 — 184
Minute from the Governor General, ſent on the 23d to the other Members of the Board, for their Peruſal 183
Minute from Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherſon, and Mr. Stables — — 190

Secre

Page
Secret Letter from Bengal, Dec. 31, 1783 — 193
Bengal Secret Conſultations, Oct. 8, 1784 — 194
Letter from the Governor General and Council to Mr. John Briſtow, Reſident at Owde, Jan. 8, 1776 199
Report of the comparative Values to Fyzabad Siccas, and Balance on ſundry Species of Rupees, received by the Company from the Nabob of Owde, and recoined in the Mint at Fort William — — 200
Letter from the Governor General and Council to Mr. Briſtow, June 13, 1776 - - - 201
Letter to the Hon. Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor General, &c. Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William - - - - 203
Account of Receipts and Diſburſements made to Mr. Briſtow, as Reſident at Lucknow, from Oct. 1782, to Jan. 1784, both inclusive - - - 207
Mr. Briſtow in Reply - - - - 213
Letter to Capt. Norman M'Leod — — 217
Capt. M'Leod to Mr. Briſtow, in Reply - - 218
Order from the Nabob Vizier to Capt. M'Leod, dated 25th of Jemmady ul Ewal, 1197 - - 220
From Raja Koſhall Roy to Mr. Briſtow, received Oct. 3, 1784 - - - - - ibid.
From Mr. Briſtow to Hyder Beg Cawn, 2d Ramzoom, 1197 - - - - 221
From the Nabob Vizier to Major M'Lary, 3d Rumzan, 1197 - - - - ibid.
Letter from the Hon. the Governor General and Council to Mr. John Briſtow, June 6, 1775 - - 222
Letter from the Hon. the Governor General to Edward Wheler and John Macpherſon, Eſqrs. dated upon the Ganges, near Sookſagore, Sept. 22, 1782 - 223
Letter from the ſame to Mr. John Briſtow, Dec. 31, 1783 - - - - 225
Obſervations on Mr. Briſtow's Defence - - ibid.
Bengal Secret Conſultations, Feb. 19, 1785 — 239
To the Hon. Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor General, &c. Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William 240
Bengal Secret Conſultations, April 5, 1785 — 243
Letter from Mr. Briſtow to the Hon. the Governor General and Council, Oct. 2, 1784 - - 251
Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Briſtow, received May 1783 - - - - 252
Letter from and to the ſame, received May 3, 1783 - ibid.
Mr. Briſtow in Reply, 21ſt Jemmady ul Sany, 1197 - 253
From the Nabob Vizier, in Reply, received May 30, 1783 - - - - 254
Select Conſultations, Fort William, Dec. 21, 1774 - ibid.
Proceedings of the Governor General and Council of Bengal, in the Secret Department, Dec. 2, 1776 - 255
Proceedings of the above in their Public Department, Oct 2, 1780 - - - - ibid.
Letter from the Hon. the Governor General to Edward Wheler and John Macpherſon, Eſqrs. dated upon the Ganges, near Sookſagore, Sept. 22, 1782 - 256

Memorandum

Page
Memorandum tranſmitted in Conformity to the Orders of the Hon. the Governor General, by Major Davy, to Mr. Briſtow, in a Letter dated Oct. 7, 1782 - - ibid.
The Hon. Governor General's Minute in Council, Sept. 30, 1783 - - - - ibid.
The Governor General's Minute upon Mr. Johnſon's Defence.——Conſultations, Oct. 21 257
Major Palmer's Letters and Inſtructions — 258
Bengal Secret Conſultations, Oct. 6, 1783 - - ibid.
Conſultation, Oct. 21 - - - 264
Mr. Haſtings's Propoſal to viſit Lucknow—Mr. Haſtings's Minute, Jan. 20, 1784 - - - 269
Minutes of Mr. Stables and Mr. Wheler - - 272
Secret Letter from Bengal, Feb. 7, 1784 - - 274
Ditto, Feb. 16, 1784 - - - 276
From the Vizier to the Hon. Governor General - 277
From Hyder Beg Khan to the Hon. Governor General, received Jan. 14, 1784 - - - 278
Letter from Major Palmer and Mr. Wombwell to the Governor General, Lucknow, Feb. 2, 1784 - 280
Mr. Haſtings's Arrival in Oude - - 282
Letter to the Hon. Court of Directors of the Hon. United Eaſt-India Company, Lucknow, April 30, 1784 286
Mr. Haſtings's Settlement of Oude in 1784 - 293
Letter to the Hon. Court of Directors, &c. dated Benares, Oct. 1, 1784 - - - ibid.
After Mr. Haſtings's Return to Owde in 1785 - 297
Bengal Secret Conſultations, Jan. 13, 1785 - ibid.
Bengal Secret Conſultations, Jan. 4, 1785 — 301
Ditto, March 8, 1785 - - - - 303
From the Vizier, received March 3, 1785 - 310
From Huſſein Reza Cawn, received March 3, 1785 311
From Hyder Beg Cawn, received ſame Date - 312
From Huſſein Reza Cawn, March 8 — ibid.
From Hyder Beg Cawn, ditto - - 313
Company's Letter to Bengal, April 11, 1785 - ibid.
Letter from Mr. Macpherſon to the Nabob Vizier, Hyder Beg Khan, &c. and Fyzulla Khan - - 314
Court's Letter to Bengal, Sept. 21, 1785 - 315
Letter of Directors approving the Abolition of the Reſidence at Owde, 1785—Company's Letter to Bengal, April 11, 1785 - - - - 318
Copy of Proceedings, &c. relative to Allowances made from the Revenue of Oude to the Company's Servants, and others, reſiding within the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier - - - ibid.
Bengal Secret Conſultations, Feb. 19, 1785—Letter from the Governor General to the Vizier, Feb. 18, 1785 318
Secret Letter from Bengal, Feb. 22, 1785 - 319
Bengal Secret Conſultations, March 8, 1785—Letter from the Governor General to Major Palmer, March 8, 1785 320
Bengal Secret Conſultations, April 16, 1785—Letter from Major Palmer to the Governor General, dated Lucknow,

Page
now, April 11, 1785——Letter from the Vizier, received April 21 1785 - - - 321
Proceedings of the Governor General and Council, in the Secret Inſpection Department, May 3, 1785 - 322
Liſt of Allowances from the Nabob Vizier to the Servants of the Company, civil and military, employed in his Excellency's Dominions - - - - 324
Letter to the Vizier from the Governor General, received April 21, 1785 - - - 326
Letter to Major William Palmer, at Lucknow - 330
Proceedings of the Governor General and Council, in their Secret Department of Inſpection, May 12, 1785 333
Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. John Wombwell 334
Letter to Mr. Hay, Secretary, and the Hon. John Macpherſon, &c. - - - 335
Bengal Secret Conſultations, May 13, 16, and 26, 1785 338
Secret Department of Inſpection, Fort William, June 28, 1785 - - - - 339
Letter to Edward Hay, Eſq. Secretary to the Secret Department, Fort William - - - 340
Letter from the Governor General and Council, in their Secret Department of Inſpection, July 31, 1785 - 341
Allowances in Oude - - - 344
Liſt of Allowances from the Nabob Vizier to the Servants of the Company, civil and military, employed in his Excellency's Dominions - - - ibid.
Secret Letter from Bengal, May 16, 1785 - - 345
Copy of a Letter from Lieut. Col. Harper to the Hon. John Macpherſon, Eſq. Governor General of Bengal, dated Sept. 20; and another dated Oct. 25, 1785, relative to the State and Condition of the Province of Oude, and the Payment of the Balances due from the Nabob Vizier to the Eaſt-India Company - - 346
Bengal Secret Conſultations, Oct. 11, 1785 - ibid.

BOOKS *Published by* J. DEBRETT.

AN ENQUIRY into the ORIGIN and MANNER of CREATING PEERS. By Richard Weſt, Eſq. late Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Price 3s.

OPINIONS on INTERESTING SUBJECTS of PUBLIC LAW and COMMERCE, ariſing from AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. By George Chalmers, Eſq. Price 3s.

A COLLECTION of the moſt eſteemed POLITICAL TRACTS which were printed during the Years 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, and 1785, in Eight Volumes. Price 2l. 12s. 6d. half bound and lettered.

REMARKS on the GOVERNMENT and the LAWS of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, in four Letters, addreſſed to Mr. Adams, Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the Court of Great Britain. Tranſlated from the French of the Abbé de Mabley, with Notes by the Tranſlator. Price 4s. ſewed.

The PROPAGATION and BOTANICAL ARRANGEMENTS of Plants and TREES, uſeful and ornamental, proper for Cultivation in every Department of Gardening, Nurſeries, Plantations, and Agriculture: Containing the fulleſt practical Directions for raiſing all Plants, Trees, Flowers, Fruits, &c, now firſt thoroughly explained. Together with the compleateſt ſyſtematic Diſplay of all the cultivated Species, and varieties of Plants, &c. &c. herbaceous and woody kind, hardy and tender; all arranged in their proper Genera or Families; with their Botanic, Latin, and Engliſh Names; and in the greater part, ſpecific Deſcriptions, and the native Places of Growth; compriſed in eight Diviſions.

The whole forming a very neceſſary and uſeful Compapanion to all Gardeners, Nurſerymen, Floriſts, Botaniſts, Planters, Seedſmen, Farmers, and every one any ways concerned, either in the Cultivation, or œconomical Uſes, &c. of the vegetable Kingdom. By John Abercrombie, Author of every Man his own Gardener. In two Volumes. Price 6s. in Boards.

GENERAL BURGOYNE's STATE of his EXPEDITION from CANADA, with all the AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS, and many Circumſtances not made public before. Written by himſelf. Illuſtrated with ſix plans of the action, the country, &c. finely engraved and coloured. A new Edition, in 8vo. Price 6s. in boards.

Papers relative to Charges IV. *and* XVI *.

Extract of General Letter to Bengal; dated 14th February 1783.

Par. 5. WE do not ſee how the Governor General could conſent to the reſumption of ſuch lands as the Company had engaged ſhould remain in the hands of thoſe who poſſeſſed them previous to the execution of the late treaty, without ſtronger proofs of the Begum's defection than have been laid before us; neither can we allow it to be good policy to reduce the ſeveral Jaghiredars, and thus uniting the territory, and the troops maintained for the protection of that territory, under one head, who may by that means, at ſome future period, become a very powerful enemy to the Company.

6. With reſpect to the reſumption of the Jaghires poſſeſſed by the Begums in particular, and the ſubſequent ſeizure of the treaſure depoſited with the Vizier's mother, which the Governor General, in his letter to the board, 23d January 1782, has declared he ſtrenuouſly encouraged, and we hope and truſt, for the honour of the Britiſh nation, that the meaſure *appeared to be fully juſtified* in the *eyes* of all Hindoſtan. The Governor General has informed us "that it can be well atteſted that the Begums "principally excited and ſupported the late commotions; "and that they carried their inveteracy to the Engliſh "nation ſo far as to aim at our utter extirpation."

7. It muſt have been publicly known, that in 1775 the reſident at the Vizier's court not only obtained from the Begum, widow of the late Sujah Dowlah, on the Nabob's account, 30 lacks of rupees, half of which was to be paid to the Company, but alſo the forbearance of 26 lacks—for the repayment of which ſhe had ſecurity in land, on the Nabob's agreeing to renounce *all further claims upon her*; and that to this agreement the Company were guarantees.

* *Theſe two Charges are thus joined together, on account of the cloſe affinity between their ſubjects; it was impoſſible completely to ſeparate the papers, tending to the reſpective illuſtration of each. Thoſe however which ſeem principally to concern the Begums, have the precedence aſſigned them.*

8. We find, that on the 21ſt December 1775, the Begum complained of a breach of engagements on the part of the Nabob, ſoliciting your protection for herſelf, her mother, and for all the women belonging to the ſeraglio of the late Nabob, from the diſtreſſes to which they were reduced: In conſequence whereof it was agreed, in conſ. 3d January 1776, to remonſtrate with the Vizier; the Governor-general remarking, "That as the repreſentative "of our government has become an agent in this buſi- "neſs, and has pledged the honour and faith of the "Company for the punctual obſervance of the conditions "under which the treaty was concluded, you had a right "to interfere; and juſtice demanded it, if it ſhould ap- "pear that thoſe engagements have been violated." And the Board at the ſame time reſolved, "That as ſoon as "the Begum's engagements with the Nabob, to which "Mr. Briſtow is a party, ſhall be fulfilled on her part, "this government will think themſelves bound to protect "her againſt any further demand or moleſtation."

9. If, therefore, the diſaffection of the Begums was not a matter of public notoriety, we cannot but be alarmed for the effects which theſe ſubſequent tranſactions muſt have had on the minds of the natives of India. The only conſolation we feel upon this occaſion is, that the amount of thoſe Jaghires, for which the Company were guarantees, is to be paid through our Reſident at the Court of the Vizier; and it very materially concerns the credit of your government, on no account to ſuffer ſuch payments to be evaded.

10. If it ſhall hereafter be found that the Begums did not take that hoſtile part againſt the Company which has been repreſented (as well in the Governor-general's narrative, as in ſeveral documents therein referred to; and as it no where appears, from the papers at preſent in our poſſeſſion, that they excited any commotion, previous to the impriſonment of Rajah Cheyt Sing, but only armed themſelves in conſequence of that tranſaction; and as it is probable that ſuch a conduct proceeded entirely from motives of ſelf-defence, under an apprehenſion that they themſelves might likewiſe be laid under unwarrantable contributions) we direct that you uſe your influence with the Vizier that their Jaghires may be reſtored to them; but if they ſhould be under apprehenſions reſpecting the future conduct of the Vizier, and wiſh our further protection, it is our pleaſure that you afford thoſe ladies an aſylum within the Company's territories, and there be paid the amount of the net collection of their Jaghires, agreeably to the ſecond article of the late treaty, through the

the medium of our Reſident, as may be aſcertained upon an average eſtimate of ſome years back.

Minute of Mr. Haſtings.

Gheretty, 9th October 1783.

I SHOULD gladly acquieſce in the motion made by Mr. Macpherſon, if I thought it poſſible to frame a letter to the Begums in any terms which ſhould at the ſame time convey the intimation propoſed by it, and not defeat the purpoſe of it, or be productive of evils greater than any which exiſt in the conſequences of the proceedings which have already taken place, and which time has almoſt obliterated. The orders of the Court of Directors are conditional; they require nothing, but in the event of diſcoveries made ſubſequent to the advices which were before you on the 14th of February laſt. In alleviation of the former conduct of the Begums, nothing has ſince appeared in relation to them, but their refuſal, or rather that of one, to fulfil her engagements for the payment of the remainder of the ſum exacted from her by the Nabob Vizier in the beginning of laſt year. Whatever obedience may be due to the clear aſcertained ſpirit of the orders of the Court of Directors, this obligation cannot extend to points to which neither the letter nor evident ſpirit of their orders apply. If I am rightly informed, the Nabob Vizier and the Begums are on terms of mutual good-will: It would ill become this government to interpoſe its influence by any act which might tend to revive their animoſities, and a very ſlight occaſion would be ſufficient to effect it. It will be to little purpoſe to tell them, that their conduct has, in our eſtimation of it, been wrong, and at the ſame time to announce to them the orders of our ſuperiors, which more than vindicate the reverſe; they will inſtantly take fire on ſuch a declaration, proclaim the judgment of the Company in their favour; demand a reparation of the acts, which they will conſtrue wrongs, with ſuch a ſentence warranting that conſtruction; and either accept the invitation to the proclaimed ſcandal of the Nabob Vizier, which will not add to the credit of our government, or remain in his dominions, but not under his authority, to add to his vexations, and the diſorder of the country, by continual intrigues and ſeditions: Enough already exiſts to affect his peace, and the quiet of his people. If we cannot heal, let us not inflame the wounds which have been inflicted. If the Begums think themſelves aggrieved to ſuch a degree as to juſtify them in an appeal to a foreign juriſdic-

tion, to appeal to it againſt a man ſtanding in the relation of ſon and grandſon to them, to appeal to the juſtice of thoſe who have been the abettors and inſtruments of their imputed wrongs—let us at leaſt permit them to be the judges of their own feelings, and prefer their complaints before we offer to redreſs them; they will not need to be prompted. I hope I ſhall not depart from the ſimplicity of official language in ſaying, that the majeſty of juſtice ought to be approached with ſolicitation, not deſcend to provoke or invite it, much leſs to debaſe itſelf by the ſuggeſtion of wrongs, and the promiſe of redreſs, with the denunciation of puniſhment before trial, and even before accuſation.

Princes of Oude and Misdemeanors in Oude.

Extract of Letter from the Baboo Begum to Mr. Hastings, received in Calcutta 22 Dec. 1775; shewing the Number of Women the Begums of Oude are under the Necessity of maintaining.

Extract of Letter from the Baboo Begum, Mother of the Nabob Aſoph-ul-Dowlah, to Governor Haſtings; received 22d December 1775.

MURTEZZA KHAN is ſtriving with all his might for the ruin of this ancient family, which he wiſhes utterly to deſtroy. If it is your pleaſure that the mother of the late Nabob, myſelf, and his other women, and infant children, ſhould be reduced to a ſtate of diſhonour and diſtreſs, we muſt ſubmit; but if, on the contrary, you call to mind the friendſhip of the late bleſſed Nabob, you will exert yourſelf ſo effectually in favour of us, who are helpleſs, as to remove Murtezza Khân; he is the author of all the evil. I have no diſpleaſure againſt the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah; let him be maſter of his own affairs. If you do not approve of my remaining at Fyzabad, ſend a perſon here in your name, to remove the mother of the late Nabob, myſelf, and about 2,000 other women and children of the ſaid bleſſed Nabob, together with the women of the Nabob, Burham ul Mulk, and thoſe of Sufdar Jung, from this city, that we may reſide with honour and reputation in ſome other place. We cannot even

even exiſt here. Whatever remedy occurs to your wiſdom, let it be applied without delay, for we are now brought to the brink of diſhonour. In the Nabob's lifetime he was poſſeſſed of no more than this ſingle Soubah, and the dues to the Engliſh chiefs were paid out of the revenues of it, as alſo the expences of his army, and his own. At preſent, that the Soubah is increaſed to three times its former extent, what becomes of the revenues? No one thinks of making this enquiry, but ſums are continually taken from us helpleſs women.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Nathaniel Middleton to Mr. John Briſtow, Reſident at the Vizier's Court; dated Lucknow, 23 October 1782.

I MUST beg leave to refer you to my correſpondence with the honourable the Governor-general for a full account of the origin and nature of my tranſactions with the Begums at Fyzabad, and the letters which have paſſed between me and officers who have ſeverally commanded; theſe will ſhew you the progreſs and preſent ſtate of that buſineſs. The balance due from the Bow Begum, upon her agreement made in January laſt, after allowing her credit for the trifling articles lately ſent here by Major Gilpin, will be about five lacks, which I apprehend may be realized, if you deem it expedient to continue the reſtraints which have been impoſed for that purpoſe. She had indeed given Major Gilpin the moſt ſatisfactory aſſurances of an immediate liquidation of this long-depending account, in which I believe ſhe was ſincere; but, probably from an expectation of a change of meaſures upon my removal, ſhe has lately retracted thoſe aſſurances, and now declares her determination to make no further payment whatever, but upon the certainty of her Jaghyre being reſtored to her, which I could give her no hopes of, as the propriety of its reſumption has been ſanctified by the approbation of the honourable the Governor-general; who further expreſsly enjoins me, in his inſtructions of the 27th January, to exert my influence with the Nabob to prevent the concluſion of any final ſettlement between him and the Begums, until I ſhould be furniſhed with inſtructions from him or the board on that head. Not having ſince the above date received any directions from the board or the Governor-general, relative to the Begums, I know not what may be their wiſhes in regard to them, but I thought it at all events my duty, conformable to the ſpirit of the orders I had received, to retain poſſeſſion of the Kittu of Fyzabad, and the perſons of the Bow Begum's two principal eunuchs, until the ſum ſhe had ſtipu-

lated to pay was fully liquidated, or the honourable Board ſhould notify their further pleaſure.

A true copy.

J. NEAVE,
Aſſiſtant to the Reſident at the Vizier's court.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 28th Auguſt 1783.

MR. WHELER having left the following minute with the ſecretary, in conſequence of reading the general letter of the 14th February, at the laſt meeting in the public department, it is now conſidered.

Mr. Wheler.—It always has been, and always will be, my wiſh to conform implicity to the orders of the Court of Directors; and I truſt that the opinion which I ſhall give upon that part of the Court's letter which is now before us will not be taken up againſt its meaning, as going to a breach of them. The orders at preſent under the Board's conſideration are entirely proviſional.

Nothing has paſſed, ſince the concluſion of the agreement made by the Governor-general with the Vizier at Chunar, which induces me to alter the opinion which I before held, as well from the Governor-general's reports to this Board, as the opinions which I have heard of many individuals totally unconcerned in the ſubject, that the Begums at Fyzabad did take a hoſtile part againſt the Company during the diſturbances in Benares; and I am impreſſed with a conviction, that the conduct of the Begums did not proceed entirely from motives of ſelf-defence. But as the Court of Directors appear to be of a different opinion, and conceive that there ought to be ſtronger proofs of the defection of the Begums than have been laid before them, I think that before we decide on their orders, the late and preſent Reſident at the Vizier's court, and the commanding officers in the Vizier's country, ought to be required to collect and lay before the Board all the information they can obtain with reſpect to the defection of the Begums, during the troubles in Benares, and their preſent diſpoſition to the Company.

The Governor-general deſires to record the following minute.

The Governor-general.—I think that Mr. Wheler has miſconceived the intention of the Court of Directors. I have attentively read the fourth and ſubſequent paragraphs of the letter of the 14th February, but find no order expreſſed or implied in them, which can warrant the enquiry propoſed by Mr. Wheler. The Court of Directors is already

already in poſſeſſion of complete and legal evidence of the hoſtile part taken by the Begums of Fyzabad againſt the Company. I cannot directly object to the propoſal for collecting freſh evidence on the ſame charges, but I muſt be informed of the object of it before I can aſſent to it; I do therefore object to the queſtion, in the preſent terms and ſtate of it.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 22d September 1783.

THE following minute having been received from Mr. Stables the 18th inſtant, is now recorded.

September 9th, 1783.

The Court of Directors, by their letter of the 14th February 1783, ſeem not to be ſatisfied that the diſaffection of the Begums to this government is ſufficiently proved by the evidence before them.

I therefore think that the late and preſent reſident, and commanding officers in the Vizier's country at the time, ſhould be called upon to collect what further information they can on this ſubject, in which the honour and dignity of this government is ſo materially concerned, that ſuch information may be immediately tranſmitted to the Court of Directors.

In the enquiry propoſed to be made, I wiſh it particularly to be attended to, whether any hoſtile intention, or mark of diſaffection to this government, in the conduct of the Begums, appeared before the troubles at Benares.

I think the Reſident at the Vizier's court ſhould be called upon to give information to the Board, whether the amount of the Begums' Jaghire has been paid to them, and by what channel the payment has been made.

The Governor-general deſires that the paragraph of the letter from the Court of Directors of the 14th February 1783, which Mr. Stables alludes to in his minute, may be entered in this place, becauſe it does not appear to him that the Court of Directors had directed any enquiry to be made ſuch as is now propoſed; that it appears to him both too late and unneceſſary at this time to renew it, as every ſtrong and authenticated evidence of the diſaffection of the Begums has been collected, and tranſmitted to the Court of Directors, and as the reaſons aſſigned by the Court of Directors, if theſe ſhall be tranſmitted with the orders for the enquiry, will prove in their effect an order collecting evidence to the juſtification and acquittal of the Begums, not for the inveſtigation of the truth of the charges which have been preferred againſt them.

The Governor-general thinks it unneceſſary to make any other comment upon the motion, or to give either his aſſent or diſſent to it, but as the latter may be applied in the preceding obſervations.

If evidence is to be collected, it ſhould be collected from all perſons capable of giving it, and not confined to official characters.

Extract of a General Letter from the Honourable Court of Directors; dated 14th February 1783.

Par. 6. With reſpect to the reſumption of the Jaghires poſſeſſed by the Begums in particular, and the ſubſequent ſeizures of treaſure depoſited with the Vizier's mother, which the Governor-general in his letter to your Board 23d January 1782, has declared he ſtrenuouſly encouraged and ſupported, we hope and truſt, for the honour of the Britiſh nation, that the meaſure appeared to be fully juſtified in the eyes of all Hindoſtan. The Governor-general has informed us "that it can be well atteſted that the "Begums principally excited and ſupported the late com-"motions, and that they carried their inveteracy to the "Engliſh ſo far as to aim at our utter extirpation."

Par. 9. If therefore the diſaffection of the Begums was not a matter of public notoriety, we cannot but be alarmed for the effects which theſe ſubſequent tranſactions muſt have had on the minds of the natives of India. The only conſolation we feel upon this occaſion is, that the amount of thoſe Jaghires, for which the Company were guarrantees, is to be paid through our Reſident at the court of the Vizier; and it very materially concerns the credit of your government on no account to ſuffer ſuch payments to be evaded.

10. If it ſhall hereafter be found, that the Begums did not take that hoſtile part againſt the Company which has been repreſented (as well in the Governor-general's narrative as in ſeveral documents therein referred to; and as it no where appears from the papers at preſent in our poſſeſſion, that they excited any commotion previous to the impriſonment of Rajah Cheyt Sing, but only armed themſelves in conſequence of that tranſaction; and as it is not probable that ſuch a conduct proceeded entirely from motives of ſelf-defence, under an apprehenſion that they themſelves might likewiſe be laid under unwarrantable contributions) we direct that you uſe your influence with the Vizier, that their Jaghires may be reſtored to them; but if they ſhould be under apprehenſions reſpecting the future conduct of the Vizier, and wiſh our further protection, it is our pleaſure that you afford thoſe Ladies an aſylum within the Company's territories, and there be

paid

paid the amount of the net collection of their Jaghire, agreeably to the 2d article of the late treaty, through the medium of our Reſident, as may be aſcertained upon an average eſtimate of ſome years back.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 13th October 1783.

MR. Macpherſon having delivered the following opinion upon the Company's orders of the 14th of February, reſpecting the Begums at Fyzabad, it was ſent in circulation, and is now entered.

Received 3 October. 25 Sept.

I have read the general letter from the Court of Directors of the 14th of February with attention. When it was firſt read in Council, I underſtood the paragraph about the Begums as directing an inveſtigation of the grounds on which they were deprived of their Jaghires, and that we ſhould uſe our influence with the Vizier to put them in poſſeſſion of the Jaghires, if there was not ſufficient evidence of their rebellious conduct during the troubles of Benares. On a cloſe attention to the words and ſpirit of the different paragraphs upon this ſubject, I do not think that we are directed to commence any new inveſtigation of evidence; indeed I do not well ſee how ſuch an inveſtigation could be regularly undertaken, or what ſalutary purpoſe it could produce: there has been no appeal from the Begums to this government; and there certainly was ſufficient proof at the time, that thoſe who had the management of their concerns during the troubles at Benares were no friends, but real enemies to the cauſe of the Engliſh. The points which the Court of Directors ſeem to have moſt at heart are, 1ſt. That the engagement of the 2d article of the Benares treaty ſhould be faithfully fulfilled; and, 2dly, to guard againſt the future conduct of the Vizier, if he ſhould be diſpoſed to oppreſs the Begums. We ſhould therefore aſcertain whether the amount of the Jaghires of the Begums is regularly paid to them through the Company's Reſident, and give them notice that no future demands ſhall be made upon them. This, I think, the Governor-general might do in a letter that would make the Begums ſenſible of their paſt miſconduct, yet inform them of the lenity and gracious intentions of the Company, in ordering them an aſylum in Bengal, in caſe of future diſtreſs.

In conſequence of the foregoing opinion from Mr. Macpherſon, the following minute was delivered by the Governor-general.

Gheretty,

Gheretty, 9th October 1783.

I ſhould gladly acquieſce in the motion made by Mr. Macpherſon, if I thought it poſſible to frame a letter to the Begums, in any terms which ſhould at the ſame time convey the intimation propoſed by it, and not defeat the purpoſe of it; or be productive of evils greater than any which exiſt in the conſequences of the proceedings which have already taken place, and which time has almoſt obliterated. The orders of the Court of Directors are conditional; they require nothing but in the event of diſcoveries made ſubſequent to the advices which were before you on the 14th of February laſt, in alleviation of the former conduct of the Begums. Nothing has ſince appeared in relation to them, but their refuſal, or rather that of one, to fulfil her engagements for the payment of the remainder of the ſum exacted from her by the Nabob Vizier, in the beginning of laſt year. Whatever obedience may be due to the clear aſcertained ſpirit of the orders of the Court of Directors, this obligation cannot extend to points which neither the letter nor evident ſpirit of their orders apply. If I am rightly informed, the Nabob Vizier and the Begums are on terms of mutual good-will. It would ill become this government to interpoſe its influence by any act which might tend to revive their animoſities, and a very ſlight occaſion would be ſufficient to effect it. It will be to little purpoſe to tell them that their conduct has, in our eſtimation of it, been wrong, and at the ſame time to announce to them the orders of our ſuperiors, which more than vindicate the reverſe; they will inſtantly take fire on ſuch a declaration, proclaim the judgment of the company in their favour, demand a reparation of the acts which they will conſtrue wrongs, with ſuch a ſentence warranting that conſtruction, and either accept the invitation, to the proclaimed ſcandal of the Nabob Vizier (which will not add to the credit of our government) or remain in his dominions, but not under his authority, to add to his vexations, and the diſorder of the country, by continual intrigues and ſeditions: enough already exiſts to affect his peace, and the quiet of his people—if we cannot heal, let us not inflame the wounds which have been inflicted. If the Begums think themſelves aggrieved to ſuch a degree as to juſtify them in an appeal to a foreign juriſdiction; to appeal to it againſt a man ſtanding in the relation of ſon and grandſon to them; to appeal to the juſtice of thoſe who have been the abettors and inſtruments of their imputed wrongs; let us at leaſt permit them to be the judges of their own feelings, and prefer their complaints before we offer to redreſs them—they will not need to be prompted.

prompted. I hope I ſhall not depart from the ſimplicity of official language in ſaying, that the majeſty of juſtice ought to be approached with ſolicitation, not deſcend to provoke or invite it, much leſs to debaſe itſelf by the ſuggeſtion of wrongs, and the promiſe of redreſs, with the denunciation of puniſhment before trial, and even before accuſation.

Mr. Macpherſon.—I ſee, with the Governor-general, the difficulty of writing a letter to the Begums that would not in ſome degree extenuate their paſt conduct, yet convey to them a knowledge of the protection tendered to them, in the event of future diſtreſſes, by the Court of Directors. I wiſhed to adopt an expedient to ſhew the Company that we were ready to meet any wiſhes they had on the ſubject: I only ſuggeſted the idea, but do not move it as a queſtion; the majeſty of juſtice ought certainly to be met with ſolicitation, and ſhould not deſcend to provoke or invite it; but from ſome expreſſions in the letter of the Court of Directors, I am led to think they had ſome complaint before them, or a different repreſentation from the evidence ſent by this government about the rebellion of the Begums, when they wrote their directions of the 14th February laſt, otherwiſe they would either have approved or diſapproved of the conduct of this adminiſtration, upon the facts ſtated to them, or have been ſilent till they received further advices. I agree with Mr. Stables, that the Reſident at the court of Oude ſhould be called upon to ſtate to the Board, whether the Begums have received the amount of their Jaghires.

Extract of General Letter from Bengal; dated 20th October 1783.

THE directions which you have been pleaſed to give, in your commands of the 14th February laſt, concerning the Begums at Fyzabad, have alſo produced different opinions upon them at this Boaad; which being recorded, we muſt beg leave to refer you to our proceedings, noted in the margin *, for a reply to that part of your letter.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, 21ſt October 1783.

READ the following letter from Mr. Briſtow.

* *Conſ. 28 Aug. Mr. Wheler's Minute.—Governor-general's do.—22d Mr. Stables do.—Governor-general's do.—13 Oct. Mr. Macpherſon's do.—Governor-general's do.—Mr. M'Pherſon do.*

Honourable

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I have received your commands of the 28 ultimo, and now tranſmit you a liſt of the Jaghires reſumed ſince the agreement made by the honourable the Governor-general with his Excellency the Vizier, at Chunar, in September 1781, as furniſhed me by Hyder Beg Cawn. The liſt I had formerly the honour to forward to your honourable Board was the ſum propoſed to be allowed to the proprietors, in lieu of the income of their Jaghires, and not the actual amount: my aſcertaining theſe particulars has occaſioned the delay in my replying to your orders.

I have only to obſerve, in regard to the ſituation of the Jaghiredars, that very few of them have received any part of their allowances, and they are all in diſtreſs.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow, 25 Sept. 1783. (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW, Reſident at the Vizier's court.

Account of the Reſumed Jaghires in the Fuſſullee Year 1189.

The Nawaub Salar Jung, and his ſons	6,71,304	11	—
The family and ſons of the late Mirza Ally Cawn	3,26,315	—	—
The Bhow Beagum	8,00,001	—	—
The Nawaub Beagum	1,95,460	3	6
Sherof Ally Cawn, Lulf Ally Cawn, and the family of Bund Ally Cawn	34,801	7	—
Huſſun Reza Cawn	13,000	—	—
Nawaub Modar Ul Dowlah	69,999	12	6
Imaum ul Dien Cawn	15,470	14	6
Khaim Cawnd Hingam Cawn	69,166	—	9
Rajah Tipper Chund	10,000	—	—
Holah Sing	57,566	—	—
Sobah Sing	54,298	9	—
Nuddee Sing	43,399	—	—
Mooly Sing	36,500	—	—
Newar Sing	35,000	—	—
Rowanny Sing	39,001	—	—
Mirza Ruſtum Ally	6,961	—	—
Bur Eear Sing	9,741	9	—
Mohim Sing	7,381	—	—
Behadre Sing	7,165	—	—
Mahommed Ghoſe	6,000	—	—
Gholaum Cawn	6,000	—	—
Umber Ally Cawn	34,817	—	—
Auffrein Ally Cawn	40,000	—	—
Khoſh Nuzzer Ally Cawn	12,501	—	—

Eoſuph

Eosuph Ally Cawn	12,533	14	6
Bussunt Ally Cawn	3,825	13	—
Almass Ally Cawn	30,000	—	—
Mahomed Wudgee	600	—	—
Meer Umjud	8,051	—	—
Mahomed Shuffy	670	14	—
Seyf Ulla	5,954	5	6
Ally Achbus Beg	10,273	—	—
Mahomed Fazil	301	—	—
Mahomed Ecar Cawn	4,376	—	—
Hubbee Beg	12,000	—	—
Bhamut Ulla	5,273	—	—
Salaim Ulla Cawn	7,173	1	—
Nader Hussem Cawn	7,031	—	—
Meer Zeah ul Deen	5,758	8	6
Mungoo Beg	9,670	5	6
Buxhoor Nur	1,501	—	—
Mohim Gudgee	2,471	—	—
Meer Fazil Ally	11,037	—	—
Rajah Jao Loll	41,942	8	—
Meer Maooah	1,211	—	—
Hicmut Hussum Cawn	4,906	1	—
Sufder Ally Cawn	2,400	—	—
Moda Buck	450	—	—
Meer Khys Ulla	13,000	—	—
Mirza Ruftee Soudah	2,370	—	—
Moonshy Basset	425	—	—
Rajah Beshim Sing	16,500	—	—
Roy Wholass Roy	11,500	—	—
Khaujah Neamut Ulla	4,031	—	—
Hussem Ally, and Bauher Ally	2,263	—	—
Mahomed Suddeah	14,000	—	—
Mahomed Ally	2,134	—	—
Ruddre Mun Shoozul	13,202	—	—
Mahomed Nur	12,669	12	—
Turhaud Ally Cawn	7,082	4	—
Mirza Hussein	14,130	11	—
Mahomed Saud Cawn	4,015	—	—
Jaghire Lutafut Ally Cawn	1,15,805	12	—
Jaghire Rajah Govend Ram	22,000	—	—
Rupees	30,53,590	1	3

Errors excepted.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW,
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Ordered,

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I have received your commands of the 28 ultimo, and now tranſmit you a liſt of the Jaghires reſumed ſince the agreement made by the honourable the Governor-general with his Excellency the Vizier, at Chunar, in September 1781, as furniſhed me by Hyder Beg Cawn. The liſt I had formerly the honour to forward to your honourable Board was the ſum propoſed to be allowed to the proprietors, in lieu of the income of their Jaghires, and not the actual amount: my aſcertaining theſe particulars has occaſioned the delay in my replying to your orders.

I have only to obſerve, in regard to the ſituation of the Jaghiredars, that very few of them have received any part of their allowances, and they are all in diſtreſs.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow, 25 Sept. 1783. (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW, Reſident at the Vizier's court.

Account of the Reſumed Jaghires in the Fuſſullee Year 1189.

The Nawaub Salar Jung, and his ſons	6,71,304	11	—
The family and ſons of the late Mirza Ally Cawn	3,26,315	—	—
The Bhow Beagum	8,00,001	—	—
The Nawaub Beagum	1,95,460	3	6
Sherof Ally Cawn, Lulf Ally Cawn, and the family of Bund Ally Cawn	34,801	7	—
Huſſun Reza Cawn	13,000	—	—
Nawaub Modar Ul Dowlah	69,999	12	6
Imaum ul Dien Cawn	15,470	14	6
Khaim Cawnd Hingam Cawn	69,166	—	9
Rajah Tipper Chund	10,000	—	—
Holah Sing	57,566	—	—
Sobah Sing	54,298	9	—
Nuddee Sing	43,399	—	—
Mooly Sing	36,500	—	—
Newar Sing	35,000	—	—
Rowanny Sing	39,001	—	—
Mirza Ruſtum Ally	6,961	—	—
Bur Eear Sing	9,741	9	—
Mohim Sing	7,381	—	—
Behadre Sing	7,165	—	—
Mahommed Ghoſe	6,000	—	—
Gholaum Cawn	6,000	—	—
Umber Ally Cawn	34,817	—	—
Auffrein Ally Cawn	40,000	—	—
Khoſh Nuzzer Ally Cawn	12,501	—	—

Eoſuph

Eosuph Ally Cawn	12,533	14	6
Bussunt Ally Cawn	3,825	13	—
Almass Ally Cawn	30,000	—	—
Mahomed Wudgee	600	—	—
Meer Umjud	8,051	—	—
Mahomed Shuffy	670	14	—
Seyf Ulla	5,954	5	6
Ally Achbus Beg	10,273	—	—
Mahomed Fazil	301	—	—
Mahomed Ecar Cawn	4,376	—	—
Hubbee Beg	12,000	—	—
Bhamut Ulla	5,273	—	—
Salaim Ulla Cawn	7,173	1	—
Nader Hussem Cawn	7,031	—	—
Meer Zeah ul Deen	5,758	8	6
Mungoo Beg	9,670	5	6
Buxhoor Nur	1,501	—	—
Mohim Gudgee	2,471	—	—
Meer Fazil Ally	11,037	—	—
Rajah Jao Loll	41,942	8	—
Meer Maooah	1,211	—	—
Hicmut Hussum Cawn	4,906	1	—
Sufder Ally Cawn	2,400	—	—
Moda Buck	450	—	—
Meer Khys Ulla	13,000	—	—
Mirza Ruftee Soudah	2,370	—	—
Moonshy Basset	425	—	—
Rajah Beshim Sing	26,500	—	—
Roy Wholass Roy	11,500	—	—
Khaujah Neamut Ulla	4,031	—	—
Hussem Ally, and Bauher Ally	2,263	—	—
Mahomed Suddeah	14,000	—	—
Mahomed Ally	2,134	—	—
Ruddre Mun Shoozul	13,202	—	—
Mahomed Nur	12,669	12	—
Turhaud Ally Cawn	7,082	4	—
Mirza Hussein	14,130	11	—
Mahomed Saud Cawn	4,015	—	—
Jaghire Lutafut Ally Cawn	1,15,805	12	—
Jaghire Rajah Govend Ram	22,000	—	—
Rupees	30,53,590	1	3

Errors excepted.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW,
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Ordered,

Ordered, That Mr. Briſtow be directed to furniſh the Board with a particular account, ſpecifying the amount actually paid to the Begums at Fyzabad, ſince the reſumption of the Jaghires took effect in the year 1781, and the amount actually due to them; and to inform the Board whether the payments have been made to them through him.

Extract of the Secret Letter from Bengal; dated 25th November 1783.

Par. 11. IN our addreſs by the Nerbudda, we had the honour of acquainting you, that a queſtion had ariſen at our Board on your letter of the 14th of February, reſpecting the Begums at Fyzabad. We have now the pleaſure to acquaint you, that your wiſhes in relation to their Jaghires have been ſupported by the Vizier himſelf, who has deſired that their Jaghires may be reſtored to them. A copy of his letter to the Governor-general is tranſmitted for your peruſal and information in this diſpatch.

From the Nabob Vizier:

Uſual Introduction. Received 6th Nov. 1783.

THE authority and influence of the Jagierdas in the Jageers diſtricts were formerly the cauſes of ſome diſorders in thoſe of government, and the Aumils of the latter were wont to make complaints. It had become an object with me alſo to reduce the Jageers to their original value. Moreover, during the diſturbances at Benares, I had entertained ſuſpicions of the fidelity of ſome of the Jageerdars; and for the preceding reaſons, when at Chunargar, I propoſed the ſequeſtration of my grandmother's and mother's Jageers, and of thoſe of the Nabob Saulaur Jung, and others of my relations and connections; and on my return to the Soubah of Oude, I carried the meaſure into execution. In the courſe of the two years that their Jageers have been ſequeſtered (for the preſent is the third year of their ſequeſtration) the motives to that meaſure have been anſwered, and my doubts fully ſatisfied. There are now none who will preſume to diſobey my will; and the diſtreſſes which they individually ſuffer are beyond deſcription: And on this account it is now my wiſh to put my grandmother, my mother, the Nabob Saulur Jung, and others of my relations, agreeably to the accompanying liſt, again in poſſeſſion of their Jageers. I therefore requeſt that you will write to Mr. Briſtow not to oppoſe the meaſure, but to allow them to be delivered up. Conclude as uſual.

Liſt

Liſt of Jageers accompanying the preceding Letter.

Jageers, and Names of Jageerdars, as follows:

Jageer of my Grandmother.
Jageer of my Mother.
Jageer of the Nabob Saulaur Jung.
Jageer of the ſons and family of the late Nabob Iftikhaur a Dowla, Meerza Ally Khan.
Jageer of the Nabob Jummaumdeen.
Jageer of the ſons of Bund Alli Yhhaun.
Jageer of the Nabob Muddaur U'Dowla.

A true Copy of the Tranſlation.

(Signed) E. HAY,
Acting Secretary to the Secret Department.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 25th November 1783.

To Edward Hay, Eſquire, Sub-Secretary.

I AM favoured with your letter of the 21ſt ultimo, conveying the orders of the honourable Governor-general and Council, directing me to furniſh a particular account, ſpecifying the amount actually paid to the Begums at Fyzabad ſince the reſumption of their Jagheers took effect in 1781—the ſum actually due to them—and whether the payments to them have been made through me.

As it will be ſome days before I ſhall be able to obtain the accounts required by the Board, you will oblige me in repreſenting this circumſtance, that the delay may not be imputed to neglect, or inattention to their commands.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, 16th December 1783.

READ the following letter from Mr. Briſtow.

Edward Hay, Eſquire, Sub-Secretary.

Sir,

As I have not yet been able to procure from the Miniſter of his Highneſs the documents and accounts neceſſary to enable me to furniſh the honourable Board with the explanation required from me in our letter of the 21ſt ultimo, I muſt beg, if any mention of this matter ſhould occur, that you will acquaint the gentlemen with the occaſion

occaſion of the delay; aſſuring them I ſhall obey their commands the moment the accounts are delivered to me.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,
17 Nov. 1783.

Letter from Mr. Haſtings to the Nabob Hyder Beg Cawn.

WHEN I prevailed upon the Nabob Vizier to commit the entire charge of his revenues and the adminiſtration of his finances to his miniſters, of whom you are the acting and reſponſible perſon, with the concurrence of the Reſident, Mr. Middleton, I had ſo ſure a reliance on your integrity, diligence, and abilities, which are univerſally known, and no leſs on the ſame qualities of Mr. Middleton, that I departed with a mind perfectly at eaſe, expecting that order would be reſtored to the Nabob's affairs, capable and truſt-worthy Aumils appointed to the ſuperintendance of the diſtricts, the forces duly ſtationed for the ſecurity of peace and the confirmation of the authority of the Sirkar, and that the paſt and growing debt of the Company would be completely diſcharged in the courſe of the year, and that I ſhould receive the thanks of the Nabob, your maſter, for the effects of my ſolicitude for the ſupport of his dignity and eaſe. The event has proved the reverſe of theſe hopes;—an accumulation of diſtreſs, debaſement, and diſſatisfaction to the Nabob, and of diſappointment and diſgrace to me.—Every meaſure which he had himſelf propoſed, and to which he had ſolicited my aſſiſtance, has been ſo conducted, as to give him cauſe of diſpleaſure; there are no officers eſtabliſhed, by which his affairs could be regularly conducted; mean, incapable, and indigent men have been appointed Aumils of the diſtricts, without authority, and without the means of perſonal protection; ſome of them have been murdered by the Zemindars; and thoſe Zemindars, inſtead of puniſhment, have been permitted to retain their Zemindarries with independent authority; all the other Zemindars ſuffered to riſe up in rebellion, and to inſult the authority of the Sircar, without any attempt made to ſuppreſs them; and the Company's debt, inſtead of being diſcharged by the aſſignments and extraordinary ſources of money provided for that purpoſe, is likely to exceed even the amount at which it ſtood at the time in which

which the arrangement with his Excellency was concluded. The growth of these evils was early made known to me, and their effects foreboded in the same order and manner as they have since come to pass.—Added to these, I this instant learn, that Almas Ally Cawn, to whom you had entrusted the greatest portion of the collections, without any pledge or security for his fidelity, has thrown off his allegiance, and quitted the Nabob's dominions, taking with him an immense treasure, the fruit of his embezzlements and oppressions, and an army raised for its protection. This too was long since foretold, and ought to have been suspected.

In such a state of calamity and disgrace, I can no longer remain a passive spectator; nor would it be becoming to conceal my sentiments, or qualify the expression of them. I have hitherto forborne to interfere, that I might not weaken your influence, and thereby disable you from fulfilling the responsibility of the great trust which had been assigned to you. I now plainly tell you, that you are answerable for every misfortune and defect of the Nabob Vizier's government. You possess abilities, and the means of retrieving them; nor is it yet too late, for the resources of the country still remain: I expect it, and immediately.—And as the first effect of your exertions, I require, that the balance, which is due to the Company, be fully cleared by the end of the year; so that not an anna shall remain in arrears. I have a right to exact this return to the confidence which the world has seen me place in you, and to the good offices which the friendship of the Nabob Vizier has enabled me to afford you. If I am disappointed, you will impose on me the painful and humiliating necessity of acknowledging to him, that I have been deceived, and of recommending the examination of your conduct to his justice, both for the redress of his own and Company's grievances, and for the injury sustained by both in their mutual connexion.

Do not reply to me, that what I have written is from the suggestion of your enemies, nor imagine, that I have induced myself to write in such plain and declaratory terms, without a clear insight into all the consequences of it, and a fixed determination upon them.

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, 7th September 1782.

THE Governor General having received a private letter from Major Palmer at Lucknow, which he has sent to Mr. Wheler, with a request that he will lay it before the Board for their consideration; it is now read, with the Governor General's sentiments upon it, as follows:

The papers now laid before the Board, contain information, whether true or falſe, of ſuch an alarming nature, as to requre ſome immediate and effectual meaſure to prevent the poſſible conſequences of the circumſtances therein contained. In the preſent inſtance, delicacy to Mr. Johnſon cannot be regarded; a whole province may be thrown into convulſions by it, and thoſe of the Company be involved in the general confuſion. The Governor-general himſelf has no doubt of the truth of the information; and if ſuch violent meaſures could be neceſſary to the intereſts of the Company, it was Mr. Johnſon's duty to have communicated that neceſſity, and his motives for ſuch conduct, together with the ſteps he had taken, to the Board;—but ſuch information has never been given to us by him, and he muſt therefore thank himſelf for conſequences ariſing out of his own remiſſneſs and inattention to his duty.

Sir,

I have received your orders to quit Lucknow, and am preparing to obey them.

Hyder Beg Cawn called upon me yeſterday morning, to acquaint me that he had heard of my recall from Mr. Johnſtone, and to declare, that as my preſence was the only check upon that gentleman's violent deſigns againſt him, he would not remain in the Vizier's dominions a moment after my departure. I put in his hands a copy of your letter to him; he was amply affected by the peruſal, that for a conſiderable time he was incapable of utterance, and at laſt was obliged to leave me abruptly, to defer the explanation of his conduct until his mind is more compoſed: Whatever may be his character and proceedings, the injuries and inſults which he daily ſuſtains at the hands of Mr. Johnſtone, are impolitic as well as ungenerous, and are in their nature inſupportable. Mr. Johnſtone's motive for a conduct ſo diametrically oppoſite to that of his principal and friend, is either calculated to impreſs a belief of his having had no ſhare or influence in meaſures which he ſees univerſally condemned, or is more probably the reſult of a concerted plan between him and Mr. Middleton, to drive Hyder Beg Cawn out of the country, that they may fix the entire blame of miſmanagement upon him, and ſuppreſs his evidence, which could not fail to criminate themſelves: The delay of Mr. Middleton in returning to his ſtation, ſtrongly warrants this ſuppoſition.

I endeavoured to encourage Hyder Beg Cawn to a reliance on your juſtice, by aſſuring him that you would not hold him reſponſible for meaſures which had been

dictated

dictated to him by an influence he could not oppoſe, and by explaining to him your intentions reſpecting the ſubjects contained in your letter to him. But before your protection can be extended to him, he may be ruined by the power and malice of Johnſtone, and I am afraid that his natural timidity will impel him to ſome precipitate reſolution of fatal conſequence to the Vizier's affairs.

I have been with the Nabob ſince I begun my letter; he appears equally ſurprized and diſtreſſed that you have recalled me without giving him intimation of it, and conſiders it as a plain indication of meaſures to be adopted here, incompatible with the ſentiments which you inſtructed me to impart to him: He has loſt all expectations of deliverance from the uſurpations of Mr. Johnſtone, and regards his authority as annihilated for ever; a kind of ſullen deſpair ſeems to have poſſeſſed his mind; he earneſtly intreats me, as his laſt hope, to wait for your ſentiments upon the repreſentations which Mr. Davy will make to you, and declares that if theſe ſhould not induce you to afford him relief, he will demand an aſylum in Calcutta.

Lucknow, I am, &c.
24th Aug. 1782. (Signed) W. PALMER.

Tranſlation of a Letter from Hyder Beg Khawn to Major William Davy; received September 6th, 1782, at Calcutta.

Uſual Introduction.

I HAVE wrote you two letters previous to this, which I hope are arrived. The former language and carriage of the acting chief here have again been received, and in ſuch manner, that in conſequence thereof we can no longer know each other. His conduct has turned out extraordinary indeed, and is all the offspring of artifice. I repeatedly hinted to you when at Lucknow, that he was not unwatchful of his object, and that he was meditating my ruin, inaſmuch as every mark of favour conferred upon me by the Governor has been diſpleaſing to him; and the circumſtance I apprehended has now come to paſs, for he has cauſed letters of reprimand to be written to me by the Governor. I am on all occaſions ready to fulfil the Governor's pleaſure: This declaration I have repeatedly made to you, and I ſhould doubt not but you will repreſent the ſame to him. With reſpect to the advantage he (Mr. Johnſtone) has taken in accuſing me, I am now ſilent; I will firſt pay off the balance due to the Company, and then, relying on the kindneſs of the juſtice of the Governor, I am ready to anſwer to every par-

ticular. At the end of two days I will write you fully of the plan now in agitation for diſcharging the debt. It is well that he has taken the lead in accuſing me; I ſhall now alſo do my duty in repreſenting my ſituation; as ſoon as the money due to the Company is paid, I will inform the Governor in the fulleſt manner of his conduct with reſpect to me, and I will write particularly to you on the ſame ſubject from thence; the propriety or impropriety of my conduct will be made known. In fact he has, in order to render me contemptible, appointed the Aumils of his own choice, and in ſuch a manner, that no one either attends the preſence of the Nawaub, or comes to viſit me. Sitting in his apartment, he ſends for whatever Sunnuds or orders he thinks proper; without remedy I write and deliver them: He moreover directs the Sunnuds to be ſent on his own part to the reſidence of the perſons for whom they are made out, as if ſuch matters had no connexion with the Sircar of the Navvaub. As ſoon as the debt is diſcharged every thing ſhall be related. His complaints alſo to the Governor, that by the continuance of Major Palmer the Company's affairs, ſuch as the receipt of the balance, &c. are retarded, are all written for the purpoſe of ſecuring and eſtabliſhing himſelf, for no ſuch obſtructions to the Company's concerns have ever been produced by the preſence of Major Palmer; on the contrary, in the confidence derived therefrom, ſeveral affairs have been brought to a concluſion. After payment of the balance, when the ſtate of things here ſhall be communicated at large, it will be underſtood that, owing to the encouragement and confidence given by Major Palmer, affairs have been concluded, and that no impediments have ever ariſen therefrom. All theſe are the contrivances of Mr. Johnſtone, who is the all-powerful here. The Vizier has no power in this place, nor the Naib of the Vizier, nor Mr. Middleton; the ſole maſter of affairs is Mr. Johnſon: Whatever he writes to Mr. Middleton, that Mr. Middleton writes to Calcutta, otherwiſe it is not Mr. Middleton's diſpoſition to traduce any one without cauſe. In a word, that which I foretold to you reſpecting him has come to paſs; by the bleſſing of God the whole will be known in a few days. You may ſpeak on theſe affairs with confidence; the Governor's pleaſure ſhall be fulfilled; there ſhall be no neglect upon me; and ſome meaſure be taken, otherwiſe I will not continue in this ſociety. As ſoon as the Company's money is paid I will wait upon the Governor. I have in ſuch manner continued to devote myſelf, both in life and fortune, to the ſervice of the Company, that all mankind here have become my enemies; but owing to

Mr.

Mr. Johnſon my endeavours have been converted into miſdemeanors.

In conſequence of the above advices, and various other informations relative to the diſtracted ſtate of the Vizier's country, which evidently prove the neglect of the acting Reſident, in not having made any communications whatever regarding them to this government, the Governor-general gave it as his opinion to the members of the Board reſpectively, that Mr. Richard Johnſtone, who in the abſence of Mr. Middleton the Reſident was left in charge of that office, ſhould be ordered immediately down to Calcutta; and that the commanding officer at Cawnpore ſhould be directed, in caſe of the diſobedience of Mr. Johnſtone, to ſee the orders of the Board enforced: He further expreſſed his opinion, that a copy of the orders of the Board ſhould be tranſmitted to Mr. Middleton, who it may be ſuppoſed will by that time be returned to his ſtation, that he may likewiſe aſſiſt in enforcing his execution of them.

The Board, taking the purport of theſe advices and communications into their moſt ſerious conſideration, and being fully ſatisfied of the neceſſity of recalling Mr. Johnſtone immediately from Lucknow, both to quiet the Vizier's apprehenſions, and to oblige him to anſwer for his paſt conduct.

Reſolved, That the following letter be immediately diſpatched to him.

Mr. Richard Johnſton.

Sir,

You are hereby peremptorily ordered and commanded, within forty-eight hours of the receipt of this letter, to quit Lucknow, and repair without delay to the preſidency of Fort William.

We have further to acquaint you, that the commanding officer at Cawnpore has been directed to enforce theſe orders in caſe of diſobedience on your part

Previous to your departure, you will deliver over the charge of the Reſidency, with all the treaſure, accounts, papers, and other documents, of which you are in poſſeſſion, to the next ſenior aſſiſtant on the ſpot, if Mr. Middleton is not already returned to Lucknow.

We are, &c. &c.

Fort William,
7th Sept. 1782.

To Mr. N. Middleton.

Sir,

Having thought it neceſſary to order Mr. Johnſtone's immediate return to the preſidency, we incloſe a copy of the letter we have ſent to him, to which you will require his faithful obedience.

Fort William, 7th Sept. 1782. We are, &c. &c.

To Colonel James Morgan, commanding the Troops at Cawnpore.

Sir,

Having thought it neceſſary to order Mr. Richard Johnſton to quit Lucknow within forty-eight hours of the receipt of our letter to him of this date, and to repair immediately to the preſidency, we hereby direct you to enforce this order, by means of a military guard, in caſe of Mr. Johnſtone's diſobedience; for which purpoſe you will write to the officer in command at Lucknow, or adopt ſuch other effectual means as you ſhall think proper.

Fort William, 7th Sept. 1782. We are, &c.

Extract of Bengal General Conſultations, the 23d September 1782.

RECEIVED the following letter from the Governor-general.

Gentlemen,

A few days before my preſent indiſpoſition commenced, I informed you, that I was ſorry to find that the Reſident at the Vizier's court had evidently failed in his duty to this government, in not having carried into execution the conditions and ſpirit of the late treaty with the Vizier. I had farther the mortification to be obliged to inform you, that neither the Reſident, nor his deputy in his abſence, had communicated to me the confuſions which had ariſen in the Vizier's dominions from a neglect or violation of the treaty.

The letters which I wrote, in conſequence of ſuch miſmanagements, to the Reſident and to the acting miniſter of the Vizier, were laid before you and approved.

Upon the ſame occaſion I obſerved to you, that the obſtacle which oppoſed itſelf to the nomination of Mr. Briſtow to the reſidentſhip at Oude no longer exiſted; it was removed by my having vindicated what muſt ever be eſteemed one of the neceſſary privileges of this government: I had the pleaſure of finding, upon the moſt impartial enquiry, that the conduct of Mr. Briſtow, during his

his former reſidence at the court of the Vizier, had been proper and attentive. I accordingly wiſhed to recommend him to ſucceed the preſent Reſident, provided the Vizier had no reaſonable objections to his appointment.

I have now great ſatisfaction in informing you, that my letter to the acting miniſter of the Vizier has had the happieſt effect, in realizing the heavy balances due to the Company from Oude; and it is ſaid, that the preſent Reſident and his deputy are brought to a proper ſenſe of their duty to the Company.

But as in every act of my adminiſtration of the affairs of the Company, I never had an object in view but their permanent intereſt, as far as my judgment could direct me, and as prejudice in favour of thoſe in whom I have confided, or againſt thoſe who oppoſed me, vaniſh in my mind when the good of the ſervice requires it, I now wiſh you to recall Mr. Middleton from the court of the Vizier, and to appoint Mr. Briſtow in his room.

My weak ſtate of health obliges me to dictate this letter from my bed; yet I cannot but add, that your inſtructions to Mr. Briſtow ſhould be ſtrong and poſitive upon three points: firſt, that he ſhould always ſhew every poſſible reſpect to the Vizier and his family. Secondly, that he ſhould take the moſt effectual ſteps for ſecuring all that may remain unpaid of the Company's balances. Thirdly, that the ſecurity and internal peace of the Vizier's dominions, and the happineſs of the people, ſhould be continually in his view, and that he ſhould communicate fully and freely with this government upon thoſe ſubjects.—— The ſtate of my health requires my proceeding farther up the river, and I ſhall communicate to Mr. Briſtow, with your approbation, any more particular inſtructions that may occur to me, and that I may be able to ſend him.

Upon the Ganges, near Sookſagore, 22d September 1782. I am, with eſteem, &c. (Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

The Board, in conformity to the Governor-general's recommendation, and ſenſible of the propriety of the meaſure,

Reſolve to recall Mr. Middleton immediately from the Vizier's court.

The Board further reſolve, That Mr. Briſtow be appointed to ſucceed Mr. Middleton, and ordered to proceed with the utmoſt diſpatch to Lucknow, to take charge of that office.

The following letters are accordingly written:

Sir,

Having thought fit to recall you to the presidency, and to appoint Mr. John Bristow to succeed to your station, we hereby direct, that on Mr. Bristow's arrival at Lucknow, you immediately deliver over charge to him of the office of Resident, with all the treasure, accounts, papers, documents, and dependencies thereunto belonging, and make the best of your way to Calcutta; for which place you will then set out without further delay.

We are, &c.

Fort William, the 23d September 1782. (Signed) Governor-general and Council.

Sir,

I am directed by the honourable the Governor-general and Council to inform you, that they have been pleased to appoint you Resident at the court of the Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah, in the room of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, removed. You will therefore proceed to Lucknow with all possible dispatch, and receive charge of that station, with all the treasure, accounts, papers, documents, and dependencies thereunto belonging, from Mr. Middleton. Instructions and credentials will be immediately prepared for you.

I am, &c.

Fort William, the 23d September 1782. (Signed) J. P. Auriol, Secretary.

Mr. Macpherson.

I cannot but express great satisfaction at the Governor-general's recommendation of Mr. Bristow to succeed to the residency at the Vizier's court; an office to which he was named by the Company, and to which his abilities and experience are understood to render him very equal.

The conduct of Mr. Middleton in various instances appears to me highly reprehensible. His negligence in not informing this government of the confusions, if not general rebellion, in the Vizier's country; and his dilatoriness in realizing the heavy debt due by the Vizier to the Company, appear to me, in the present crisis of public affairs, as crimes against the state, and as such they should be rigidly investigated. Mr. Johnson's conduct as acting Resident appears to me to be subject to a similar impeachment; but as I should be equally sorry to condemn the conduct of any servant of this government, before he has every fair power for vindication given him—as I would

would be rigid in enforcing a juſt puniſhment after condemnation, ſo I ſhall move, upon the return of Meſſieurs Middleton and Johnſon to the preſidency, that they may be called upon to account for their miſmanagement at Oude, and that the complaints made of their conduct, both by the Vizier and his acting miniſter, be taken into conſideration. If ever there was a period in the diſtreſs of any government, when neglect of duty or corruption in ſervants in high ſtation is ſuperiorly criminal, it is the preſent criſis of the Company's diſtreſſes; critical ſituation, with their few allies and numerous enemies!

(Signed)

JOHN MACPHERSON.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 18th November 1782.

READ the following letter from Mr. Richard Johnſon.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

I am honoured with your commands through your ſecretary of this date, requiring information upon the nature of bills received from Mr. Middleton to the amount of L. K. Sa. 21,50,000.

Theſe bills are a part remittance of the balance of his accounts for the year 1190; the remainder of which he will bring with him, or will ſend down, upon receiving an anſwer to his letter of 4th September, mentioning his having cloſed the balances, and adviſing that the Nabob had depoſited the difference of balance claimed by the Board.

This remittance was negociated in the following manner:

The laſt collections of the balances of the aſſignments, annually granted to the honourable Company at Lucknow, uſually run two months into the new year, which time elapſes before the Aumils can adjuſt their old accounts at the capital, and be ready to depart with their new agreement; in order therefore to prevent the Nabob from appearing to have failed in his part of the execution of the treaty of Chunar, by which he was to liquidate his debt to the Company within that year, and to the performance of what this accuſtomary delay would have given a falſe appearance, this argument joining in its iſſue with an advantage to the honourable Company by a more ſpeedy payment, it was mutually agreed to raiſe the amount of the outſtanding balances from the Shrofts; they to grant bills or pauts, as wanted, for payments at Lucknow, or remittances to the preſidency, in exchange for,

for, or in advance upon, the balances which thenceforward became payable to them; the Nabob allowing the Shrofts intereſt for their money, while they might be out of their money by the advance. The Shrofts, upon the faith of the Engliſh agency, accepted the propoſal, and accordingly iſſued the bills, and compleated the whole balance, as brought to account in Mr. Middleton's account, to the laſt day of Auguſt, now before the Board. The deed for the ſecurity of the Shrofts was ſealed by the Nabob, Miniſters, and Reſident.

The balances thus realized by this advance, it was again propoſed by the Shrofts, whether they would alſo make a farther advance in like manner for 25 lacks, which was the ſum claimed by the Board as a difference of balances in their accounts with the Nabob at your preſidency; the advance to be upon ſimilar terms with the negociation for the balances of the aſſignments. To this alſo they agreed pointedly, repeating that they were ſtimulated by their faith upon the Engliſh. The Nabob, Miniſters, and Reſident, ſigned this alſo, each party ſatisfied with the reſpective benefit ariſing from it. The ſecurity and funds for repayment of this latter was the reſumed Jaghires or alienated eſtates from the government lands, now reſumed; conſequently they were funds, the aſſignment of which in no ſhape curtailed the Nabob's former or uſual reſources, or interferred with thoſe lands upon which the aſſignments for the Company were granted; which is proved by the ſeparate grant of the honourable Company's aſſignments for the new year 1190, made at the ſame time, and iſſued with the orders for the payment to the Shrofts.

But leſt the preſent change of the preſidency ſhould alarm the Shrofts as any way connected with a diſapprobation of this loan, or advance upon the Nabob's reſources, it would be very uſeful, if the honourable Board approve of it, to expreſs their approbation to the Shrofts, through the uſual channel, the Governor-general, as an encouragement for ſo bold and uncommon a ſtretch of credit, unattempted and unexecuted before; and being the firſt, it well deſerves the moſt pointed and particular attention and encouragement from government. If they are well treated for this, they will always again be ready, when their funds may be wanted. Near fifty lacks was no ſmall exertion, and chiefly from one man, Gopal Dus; and if they are neglected, nothing can ever again be expected from them, or others, who may become informed of the circumſtances. From the nature of this buſineſs, I muſt hope the Board will pardon the intruſion of this recommendation to them. The ſupport of public credit

muſt

muſt ever be a prime object; every effort towards eſtabliſhing it encouraged, and every agent in it ſupported.

I have the honour to be,

Fort William, &c. &c. &c.
22d October 1782. R. JOHNSON.

Extract of Bengal General Conſultations, 25th November 1782.

READ two letters, as follows, from Mr. Richard Johnſon:

To James Peter Auriol, Eſq. Secretary.

Sir,

I requeſt you will, with the permiſſion of the honourable the Governor-general and Council, be pleaſed to furniſh me with a copy of the proceedings of the 7th of September laſt, together with ſuch other record as may be connected with or inductive to the orders of that day reſpecting me.

Calcutta, I have the honour to be, &c.
20th Nov. 1782. (Signed) R. JOHNSON.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

In conſequence of your orders of the 7th September, I arrived at the preſidency on the 20th of October, and have, until now, waited in anxious hope of being honoured with your further commands; but the delay that has ariſen unavoidably rendering my ſituation daily more irkſome, I am now impelled to ſolicit a communication of the grounds and information upon which the honourable Board proceeded in their orders to Colonel Morgan, and the late preſident at Lucknow, reſpecting me, in September laſt, confidently truſting that I ſhall be well able to prove that the evident intentions of ſuch parts of my conduct as may have brought upon me the diſapprobation and diſpleaſure of the Board, too ſeverely expreſſed and heavily ſtamped upon me at that period, have been miſrepreſented.

If the early diſpatch of the Lively ſhould not admit of my reply being ſubmitted to you in time to accompany the packet, and I hope you will be pleaſed to withhold the tranſmiſſion of that part of your record which now ſtands alone againſt me, until it may be compleated for the next diſpatch, with what I may be able to offer in my defence; or ſhould I have requeſted that which would be irregular to grant, permit me then to aſk that this letter may be joined to the proceedings under diſpatch, with an additional paragraph to induce the Court of Directors to ſuſpend any judgment to my detriment, until they

they ſhall become furniſhed with my anſwer to the evidence upon which the Board have have ordered me to the preſidency.

Calcutta, 20th Nov. 1782. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) R. JOHNSON.

Agreed, that the ſecretary be permitted to give a copy of the proceedings of the 7th September to Mr. Johnſon.

Ordered, that the ſecretary do inform Mr. Johnſon that the papers contained in the proceedings of the 7th September do not ſpecify every ground of accuſation which has appeared againſt him; that, as ſoon as the leiſure of the Board will permit, he will be made acquainted with the charges againſt him, and allowed time to prepare his defence.

Agreed, that the Court of Directors be requeſted to ſuſpend their judgment on the caſe of Mr. R. Johnſon, until the proceedings ſhall be completely before them.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 12th June 1783.

THE ſecretary having, in conſequence of the reſolution of the Board of the 21ſt April laſt, received from the Governor-general the letters from Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon to him, in order to draw up the charges againſt thoſe gentlemen, and having accordingly prepared the charges in conformity to the Board's orders, and circulated them, with the letters above mentioned, they are now recorded as follows, and ordered to be immediately ſent to Meſſrs. Middleton and Johnſon reſpectively, that they may reply to them.

Charges againſt Mr. Nathaniel Middleton.

1ſt. For leaving unexecuted the ſeveral articles of the Governor-general's peremptory orders and inſtructions to you, dated at Chunar, the 20th September 1781, notwithſtanding thoſe inſtructions enjoined and commanded your ſtricteſt obedience, and were, both by the Vizier's formal agreement, on which they were founded, and by the tenor of them, intended to be carried into immediate effect, the object of them being the reduction of the Vizier's debt to the Company, which was in a conſtant ſtate of accumulation, and a conſciouſneſs of it ſeemed implied in your firſt letter from Lucknow, dated 4th October 1781, which contained the following words: "We have not yet been able to enter on any buſineſs of "moment, but you may reſt aſſured no time ſhall be un-"neceſſarily conſumed;" and in your letter of the 12th October, where you write in the moſt preſſing terms for the

the recall of the late temporary brigade, as being a part of the reform. Notwithſtanding the Governor-general, on the 26th December following, finding that you had not to that time taken any ſteps towards accompliſhing the treaty, in the points in which the Vizier had engaged the interference of our government, wrote to you, "that the "reformation of the Vizier's army, and the new ſettle- "ment of his revenues, were points of immediate con- "cern, and ought to be immediately concluded;" and added, "I now demand and require you moſt ſolemnly to "anſwer me, Are you confident in your own ability to "accompliſh all theſe purpoſes, and the other points of "my inſtructions? If you reply that you are, I will "depart with a quiet and aſſured mind to the preſidency, "but leave you a dreadful reſponſibility if you diſappoint "me. If you tell me that you cannot rely on your "power, and the other means which you poſſeſs, for "performing theſe ſervices, I will free you from the "charge: I will proceed myſelf to Lucknow, and I will "myſelf undertake them." To which you returned for anſwer, "I confidently reply, that I am fully compe- "tent to undertake and effect the completion of the "reform, upon the grounds ſtated in my anſwer to the "4th paragraph, and therefore again repeat that your "coming here is unneceſſary." Your anſwer to the 4th paragraph admits, that you have erred in ſuppoſing that the reform was not meant to take place that year; and adds, that "the inſtant the Fyzabad buſineſs is finiſhed, "which cannot take more than one fortnight from the "day of marching there, I ſhall take ſuch ſteps, as the "means in my power will admit of, towards procuring "from the Nabob orders to each Aumil to pay his groſs "revenues to the Miniſters, and to receive the pay of "their troops, being reduced into regular muſtered eſta- "bliſhments, from the general treaſury; and ſhould he "refuſe, I will iſſue my own, together with thoſe of the "Miniſters, to that purpoſe."—And further, that "theſe "three points complete the heads of your (the Governor- "general's) recommendation to the Nabob." Upon the ſtrength of theſe aſſurances, the Governor-general deſiſted from his intention to viſit Lucknow, as he hoped it would be unneceſſary, and returned immediately to the preſi- dency, leaving upon you the reſponſibility he had de- nounced.

2dly. For giving not only precipitate and unwarranted aſſurances as above quoted, but contradictory information of facts; for by your letters of the 11th February 1782 to the Governor-general, you ſay you incloſe one from the Vizier, "informing him of his compliance with the

"only

" only points that remained unfiniſhed of his part of the " late agreements," &c. and add, " I have, in confir- " mation of the above-mentioned letter, received one " from the Miniſter, informing me of the accompliſh- " ment of this reform, from which, with the total re- " ſumption of all Jagheers which is now perfectly com- " pleted, I have every reaſon to hope for the moſt bene- " ficial reſult, and that every part of this government " will now be in a ſtate of regularity and tranquility " ſcarcely ever before experienced."

" I alſo truſt, that you will now deem every wiſh, " expreſſed in your inſtructions to me, fully performed." —Again, in your letter to the Governor of the 10th March following, you ſay, " Having ſucceeded in the " impreſſion which I wiſhed to make on the Miniſters, " and the *reduction which has been made in the Nabob's* " *Mooteyana troops* ſtrengthening the ground I had argued " on, I availed myſelf of this opportunity to propoſe an " eſtabliſhment of the Company's troops."—In your letter to him of the 20th of that month, you ſay, " in " order to complete the check you have directed over the " Mooteyana and their payment, I have been neceſſitated " to appoint an Aumeen to receive and remit to me the " collections of Litaput, Ally Cawn's Jaidads, &c."— And in your letter of the 25th March 1782, addreſſed to the Governor-general, you defined the particular manner in which the ſeveral parts of your inſtructions had been carried into execution; but by your letter of the 17th September 1782, addreſſed to the Board, you only then declare, that you had ſtationed an agent of your own in each Aumildarry throughout thoſe provinces, as muſter- maſter of the Mooteyana troops, and ſay, that you " could " not with propriety have taken ſo deciſive a line in this " buſineſs at an earlier period, as the Nabob and the " Miniſters returning to the capitol ſo late as the month " of October found themſelves obliged to continue the " Aumils already in employ in their reſpective truſts, or " riſk by the new appointments at that advanced ſeaſon " the loſs of the whole collections on the Kierreeff or " firſt crop, amounting to two-fifths of the annual re- " venue, and the ſame circumſtances involved the ne- " ceſſity of leaving their agreements nearly in the form " in which they ſtood in the preceding year. Hence it " became difficult and dangerous to take any immediate " ſteps for the introduction of the Governor-general's " arrangements, beyond laying the foundations of a fu- " ture reform, which was duly attended to; and theſe " I can now ſecurely build upon, as, by availing myſelf " of this *early period*, every Aumil is apprized of the

" terms

" terms on which he embarks, and left without excuſe " for any failure in his engagements."—And thus deferring till September 1782, what you thought it too late in the ſeaſon to carry into execution in October 1781, although you had urgent and poſitive orders for doing it immediately, and although you had reported the actual performance thereof to have paſſed in your letters above quoted.

3dly. For theſe and other contradictions and inconſiſtencies, particularly pointed out to you in the Governor-general's letters, dated 1ſt and 3d of January 1782.

4th. For not reporting to the Governor general, or to the Board, the progreſs which you had made from time to time in your endeavours to comply with his inſtructions; and if you met with any impediments in the execution of them, for omitting to ſtate thoſe impediments, and to apply for freſh orders upon them.

5th. For diſobedience to the Governor-general's peremptory orders of the 26th December 1781, contained in the following words:—" I approve the Nabob's reſo- " lution to deprive the Begums of the ill-employed " treaſures. In both ſervices it muſt be *your care* to " prevent an abuſe of the power given to thoſe that are " employed in them. *You yourſelf* ought to be perſonally " preſent—*You muſt not allow any negociations or for-* " *bearance*, but muſt proſecute both ſervices until the " Begums are at the entire mercy of the Nabob," &c.—Whereas, by a letter from Major Naylor to the Governor-general, dated at camp Killa Fyzabad, 14th January 1782, it is declared as follows:—" *After my arrival, a couple of* " *days paſſed in negociation, but without effect*, and the " party in the town collecting and hourly gaining ſtrength; " at length, after mature deliberation, it was reſolved " that I ſhould, with my regiment and four guns, ſtorm " the town; which I effected the 12th in the morning." —And by this diſobedience of the order which forbad any negociation or forbearance, you allowed time for oppoſition, which evidently had been meditated, to take its full effect, and for the concealment of the wealth which was in the Begums' poſſeſſion, as is acknowledged by your letter of the 18th January to the Governor-general. Your letter of the 5th February is not a ſufficient exculpation from this charge, as the forbearance alluded to was before the attack of the Killa, and not " after the Begums were to be conſidered as entirely at " the mercy of the Nabob," which is the time it alludes to.—It might be good policy, after they were ſo reduced, to obſerve a temporizing conduct, becauſe the treaſures was then concealed, and none but the acceſſaries to its con-

concealment were acquainted with the places where it was depoſited.

6th. For neglecting to realize the whole of the Vizier's debt to the Company at the end of the year 1189, Fuſſulle, notwithſtanding your repeated aſſurances that it ſhould be completely liquidated by that time, and in particular the aſſurances contained in your letter to the Governor-general, dated 6th December 1781, "that from the Be-"gums alone you had no doubt of the complete liquida-"tion of the Company's balance."

7th. For neglecting to ſecure the means of liquidating this debt, by only taking Tunkaws or aſſignments upon the country for the ſum of rupees 76,37,458, when you muſt have known that the demand on the Vizier for that year (1189) would amount to more than double that ſum.

8th. For omitting, according to annual cuſtom, and the poſitive orders of the Board, to ſend down to them a regular account of the demands upon the Vizier for the year 1189, and of the aſſignments taken to ſatisfy thoſe demands; and for accepting the Aſſignments without the authority of the Board.

9th. For omitting to take any notice of the additional balance of rupees 26,48,571. 3. 8. ſtated by the Accountant-general to be due from the Vizier to the Company on the 30th April 1780, and not charged to him by the Reſident, although ſuch a formal intimation of it from the Accountant-general, as you received, was at leaſt a ſufficient authority to have induced you to apply for the Board's orders concerning it, had you been otherwiſe dubious about admitting it; and although it aroſe from poſitive charges and demands upon the Vizier, which ought to have been carried immediately to his account, and could not be in the leaſt affected by any counter claims of the Vizier; which if allowed to be juſt, he might equally receive credit for, in account, at any future time after they had been ſo allowed.

10th. For anticipating the revenues of the Vizier's country, and burthening them with an enormous load of intereſt, by mortgaging aſſignments upon them to the Shroffs, at the uſury of 2 per cent. per menſem, in order to accompliſh a remittance of the above additional balance to the preſidency, by the means of their bills, within the year 1189, after having omitted to include the ſaid balance in the regular aſſignments.

11th. For loading the Vizier's revenues in like manner with the further uſurious charge of 2 per cent. per menſem, in order to anticipate the liquidation of the exceſs of diſburſements beyond the amount which you had

received

received assignments for at the beginning of the year 1189, by mortgaging to the Shroffs the balances of the assignments uncollected at the end of the said year 1189.

12th. For endeavouring to conceal from us the knowledge of the rebellion of Almas Ally Cawn, the Vizier's principal renter, by studiously avoiding the mention of his disobedience and flight, which from the treasures and forces he carried with him, threatened to involve the Vizier's country in a state of warfare.

13th. For afterwards pursuing measures to encrease the power of Almas Ally Cawn (already too formidable for a subject) by procuring for him, on his return to Lucknow, a grant of additional districts, on the condition of his becoming bound to the Shroffs for the payment of their Tunkaws or assignments in their favour, and thereby releasing your own security to them for the liquidation of those Tunkaws.

14. For neglecting to advise us of the disturbance at Daranagur, when two of the Vizier's battalions were attacked and dispersed by a body of Fyzoola Cawn's horse; and the consequences might have been more serious from this effect, although it appears to have proceeded from a private fray, and was unauthorized and unknown by Fyzoola Cawn.

15th. For neglecting on every other occasion of disaffection or disturbance in the Vizier's Aumils, to report them to the Board, although considerable detachments were made from the Brigade to quell such disturbances, by your own requisition, or that of your assistant, Mr. Richard Johnson.

16th. For concealing from us a knowledge of the state of the Vizier's dominions, and when you knew them to be under such precarious dependance as to require the constant awe of a military force to prevent a civil war, from the machinations of rebellious Zemindars; when you knew likewise that we were surrounded by enemies (the peace with the Marattas not having then been ratified at Poona); for endeavouring at such a crisis to increase the number of our enemies, and consequently our difficulties, by recommending an expedition, in concert with the Vizier, to deprive Fyzoola Cawn of his Zemindarry; although you acknowledge, in the same letter, "that the possessions of Fyzoola Cawn are so situated, "that there is no possibility of cutting off his retreat, "whenever he might choose to attempt it"—And again, that "there can be no doubt but Zabit-a-Cawn, with "whom he is closely connected, and keeps up a con-"stant intercourse, would seize any opening which might

" yield him the faintest hopes of recovering his heredi-
" tary possessions in Rohilcund."

Charges against Mr. Richard Johnson.

1st. For assuming an unlicensed authority in prejudice of the Vizier's government; and interfering in the management of his country, in opposition to his will, and to the endeavours and remonstrances of his minister. The particular instances alledged are, " by appointing " Aumils of your own choice, and in such a manner " that no one either attended the presence of the Nabob, " or visited his minister."

2dly. " By exacting Sunnuds, and orders from the " presence, at your own pleasure, and issuing the Sun- " nuds on your own part, as if his duty had been held " independent of the Vizier's authority."

3dly. For sending repeatedly to the Vizier, and to his minister Hyder Beg Cawn, to advise them against transferring the ten lacks of rupees, intended as a present to the Governor-general, to the Company's account, as it would be a precedent for further demands, which, if the Vizier did not resist in the first instance, this government would never cease to harrass him for money.

4thly. For neglect of duty, in not having communicated to this government any measures which the state of affairs in the Vizier's country might render it necessary for you to adopt, if such necessity prevailed.

5thly. For further neglect of duty, in not having written a single letter to this government during the absence of Mr. Middleton from his station at Lucknow, to report the state of the upper provinces, or of the Vizier's dominions, or to mention any one occurrence of those parts, notwithstanding the important events which took place during that interval from the contentions which ensued upon the decease of Nudziff Cawn, and the disturbances in the Vizier's country from the defection and flight of Almas Ally Cawn, one of his principal Zemindars, with a considerable treasure and force; from the refractoriness and disobedience of other Zemindars, and from other causes, which the Board have since been informed of; and for not mentioning the disaster which happened to two battalions of the Vizier's troops at Daranagur; all which the Board obtained no knowledge of but from private information.

6thly. For applying on different occasions to Colonel Morgan, commanding the brigade at Cawnpore, for military aid to enforce the orders of government, and quell disturbances in different parts of the Vizier's dominions,

without

without any reference, or even information, given to the Board of ſuch applications, or the occaſion for them.

7th. But particularly for detaching, by the means of your application to the commanding officer at Cawnpore, one regiment from that brigade, to enforce the Vizier's demands upon the Nabob of Furruckabad, notwithſtanding the poſitive prohibition of any interference from the Reſident in the Vizier's claims upon that Nabob, and notwithſtanding the further poſitive prohibition of detachments being required from the brigade, except in caſes of extreme neceſſity; and on all theſe important occaſions, for neglecting to make any communications to this Board.

To Mr. Middleton.

Chunar, 21ſt November 1781.

I KNOW not how to account for the little attention which you ſhew to my orders, eſpecially on a point which you know to be the moſt important to my reputation. Before you left this place, I gave you a liſt of papers which I ſhould want both to explain and juſtify the engagements which I had concluded with the Nabob Vizier, and you promiſed to ſend them on your arrival at Lucknow. You obliged me to write preſſingly, and I believe repeatedly for them. You then ſent me accounts, which, had you but looked at their titles, you would have known could be of no uſe, being the accounts of eſtabliſhments, not of actual expenditures, and of eſtabliſhments of the year 1778, which are either obſolete or much changed; and the account which I moſt wanted you have not ſent, which was the account of the Nabob's preſent debt to the Company. I have been prevented by your neglect of me from ſending to the Board the report of this tranſaction, which of courſe will go home only in private, and of courſe not the moſt favourable accounts of it.

I now once more deſire that you will inſtantly ſend me the following accounts:

1. An account of the ſums due to the end of the laſt month of the Fuſſulee computation from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, on account of each ſeparate charge.

2. An account of the diſburſements made and due for the laſt Fuſſulee year for every different department paid by Mr. Wombwell, viz. The temporary brigade, Major Martin's arſenal, Colonel Hannay's corps, body guard, penſions and ſalaries, and the actual expence of Captain Oſborne's corps for the laſt year of his command.

To theſe I muſt add another equally neceſſary with the foregoing, which I deſire you to give me, as you can, but not to delay the foregoing for it; viz. An account of the nominal value of each Jagheer; and oppoſed to it, its real produce or its eſtimated value.

I am, &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

My dear Sir,

IT is with the greateſt concern that I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21ſt, as you appear to be much hurt at the neglect you accuſe me with towards you.

I really thought that I had ſent you every account which you had aſked me for at Chunar. The eſtabliſhments of the troops under Britiſh officers which I tranſmitted, although made, as you obſerve, in the year 1778, are the ſame by which the payments are at this moment made, excepting any extra diſburſement and contingency which cannot be provided for, and which but rarely occur in the ſervice.

And the revenue accounts were of the very laſt year that had then been drawn out. The accounts of the new year are not yet ſettled or delivered in; and what have been tranſcribed has been ſince my ſending the accounts to you.

However, the accounts, as you now deſire them, are tranſcribing, and ſhall be ſent you without a moment's loſs of time. The receipts and diſburſements of the laſt year will not be quite complete, as the accounts of Gurruchpore and Furruckabad have not yet been cloſed.

Sir Elijah Impey leaves us on Wedneſday morning, after which, I dare venture to aſſure you, you will have much leſs cauſe to tax me with want of punctuality. I have and muſt neceſſarily continue to be conſtant in my perſonal attendance upon him, which I truſt you will admit as ſome excuſe for me.

I am, &c.

Lucknow, 25th Nov. 1781. NATH. MIDDLETON.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 2d Dec. 1781.

I had yeſterday the honour of informing you of the meſſage I ſent to the Nabob through the miniſter, reſpecting the Jagheers, to which his excellency this morning

ing returned me a reply, purporting that if the meaſure propoſed was intended to procure the payment of his balance due to the Company, he could better and more expeditiouſly effect that object, by taking from his mother what ſhe is very able to ſpare, and what he has an undoubted right, as he conceives, to exact from her. The preſent debt to the Company, as he with truth obſerves, is a great part handed down from his father; and the funds from which he might have been enabled to liquidate it, it is notorious, were withheld from him by the Begum, on the late Nabob's death. That according to the laws of the Koran, and the invariable cuſtom of the country, he is juſtly entitled to the whole eſtate and treaſures of his father, and could legally demand their being put in his poſſeſſion; but that the ſum he deſires to take from his mother (about 60 lacks) bears no ſort of proportion to the immenſe wealth which fell into her hands on the death of his father, nor would it bear at all hard upon her, as he knows how much her treaſures exceed that ſum. All therefore that he aſks, is not to be interrupted in recovering a part of his hereditary right, by which he will be enabled to diſcharge immediately the whole of his debt to the Company.

This, my dear Sir, is a flattering propoſition; and as to the point of right, admitting it to be leſs clear and defined than the Nabob chuſes to conſider it, you may poſſibly be of opinion that the conduct of the Begums, on the late diſturbances at Benares, as ſet forth in the ſeveral teſtimonies laid before you, has forfeited any claim they might originally have had to the protection and mediation of the Company; and further, that it may not be political or yet perfectly ſafe to truſt them any longer with ſuch powerful means of promoting an oppoſition to our intereſts.

For my own part I am ſo well perſuaded of the diſaffection of the Begums, particularly the preſent Nabob's mother, to our cauſe, and of their promptitude to unite in any meaſure to diſtreſs us, that I could very eaſily reconcile it to my conſcience to aſſiſt the Nabob, inſtead of obſtructing him, in wreſting from them every benefit they enjoy beyond a decent maintenance; however, this is only my own opinion, and by no means meant to influence yours. The Nabob writes you himſelf on this ſubject, and you have his letter incloſed. Neither he nor I expect that you ſhould give a formal ſanction to the meaſure propoſed: It will be ſufficient that you but hint your opinion upon it, and enable me to inform his Excellency whether you would or would not oppoſe his deſign. Let me therefore entreat you, my dear Sir, to favour me

with a line by the return of the Dauk; and if your ſentiments ſhould happen to accord with my own, I doubt not but I ſhould be able to congratulate you, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, upon the remittance of a handſome ſum to the preſidency.

I am, &c.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

P. S. Whatever may be your reſolution upon the ſubject of this letter, it will be expedient to keep it ſecret. The reſumption of the Jagheers it is neceſſary to ſuſpend, until I have your ſentiments on this letter.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, 6th Dec. 1781.

I UNDERSTAND, from a letter I have received from Sir Elijah Impey, that you are not yet ſatisfied with the ſtatement tranſmiteed to you of the Nabob's debt to the Company, which induces me to trouble you with a few further remarks.

In the Nabob's account current, dated and forwarded to you the 30th ultimo, I purpoſely particularized, as far as my judgment could point out, any diviſion or detail in it. The ſum of rupees, 32,78,613. 11. after deducting 10,000 rupees for an error, was the balance of the year 1187, agreeably to Mr. Purling's account, ariſing from ſhort payments of the claims made upon the Nabob for that year, and occaſioned by the total collections of the country not having proved adequate to the Nabob's own wants and our annual claims; and upon theſe conſiderations I found myſelf obliged, upon my adjuſtment with his Excellency for the year 1188, to take a bond for that amount, of which I duly informed the honourable Board. The army donation, rupees 10,50,000, was under the ſame circumſtances, as the unavoidable claims for the immediate pay of the eſtabliſhed troops, and other indiſpenſable diſburſements, fully engroſſed all the funds that could be ſet apart from the Nabob's abſolute wants, after deducting the uſual charges of collection. For this, therefore, I was obliged to accept a bond, the honourable Board being informed of it, and ſanctifying it by their concurrence. Both theſe bonds I ſeparately particularized at the foot of the Nabob's account for 1188, and added the actual balance of rupees 12,09,876. 9. 8. for which new aſſignments were receiving.

Believe me, my dear Sir, if this explanation does not anſwer your purpoſe, it is not owing to the want of inclination to take any pains to afford you complete ſatisfaction,

faction, but to my ignorance of any clearer mode of ſtating it, or any other elucidation of which the account is ſuſceptible; I muſt therefore entreat you will do me the favour to inform me, what queſtion, unanſwered by my explanation, can be aſked upon it, and I will inſtantly do my utmoſt to make it more clear and explicit.

I underſtand alſo from Sir Elijah's letter, "that you "approve of a ſubſidy from Fayzula Cawn, and the "troops to be raiſed upon it to be ſtationed at Cawnpore "or Allahabad, but not higher."

The troops Fayzula Cawn offered through Mr. Johnſon to hold in readineſs upon his interpretation of the treaty, were 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 infantry. If money inſtead of theſe be required, he will probably propoſe his own rates of paying them, which are from 14 to 17 rupees per month for each horſeman, with his arms, accoutrements, and horſe, and 4 rupees each for the infantry; which would only amount together to little above 4 lacks per annum—ſay 5 lacks, including Oadadars or officers; a ſum which I imagine you would conſider ſcarcely worth the Company's acceptance, and at the rates of our own ſervice, the ſame number of troops would exceed twelve lacks, which I ſuppoſe is conſiderably beyond what he will voluntarily pay. However, if it is your wiſh that the claim ſhould be made, I am ready to take it up, and you may be aſſured nothing within my power ſhall be left undone to carry it through. The toſeer or exceſs of Fayzula Cawn's collections above the valuation of his grant, is ſaid to be equal to the laſt-mentioned ſum. I wait only your orders to proceed in this buſineſs.

Finding the Nabob wavering in his determination about the reſumption of the Jagheers, I this day, in preſence of, and with the miniſter's concurrence, ordered the neceſſary Perwannahs to be written to the ſeveral Aumils for that purpoſe, and it was my firm reſolution to have diſpatched them this evening, with proper people to ſee them punctually and implicitly carried into execution; but before they were all tranſcribed, I received a meſſage from the Nabob, who had been informed by the miniſter of the reſolution I had taken, intreating that I would withhold the Perwannahs until to-morrow morning, when he would attend me, and afford me ſatisfaction on this point. As the loſs of a few hours in the diſpatch of the Perwannahs appeared of little moment, and as it is poſſible the Nabob, ſeeing that the buſineſs will at all events be done, may make it an act of his own, I have conſented to indulge him in his requeſt; but, be the reſult of our interview whatever it may, nothing ſhall prevent the orders being iſſued to-morrow, either by him or myſelf, with the con-

currence of the miniſters. Your pleaſure reſpecting the Begums I have learnt from Sir Elijah; and the meaſure heretofore propoſed will ſoon follow the reſumption of the Jagheers. From both, or indeed from the former alone, I have no doubt of the complete liquidation of the Company's balance.

I am, &c.
NATH. MIDDLETON.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, 7th Dec. 1781.

I HAD the honour to addreſs you yeſterday, informing you of the ſteps I had taken in regard to the reſumption of the Jagheers. This morning the Vizier came to me according to his agreement, but ſeemingly without any intention or deſire to yield me ſatisfaction on the ſubject under diſcuſſion; for after a great deal of converſation, conſiſting on his part of trifling evaſion and puerile excuſes for withholding his aſſent to the meaſure, though at the ſame time profeſſing the moſt implicit ſubmiſſion to your wiſhes, I found myſelf without any other reſource than the one of employing that excluſive authority with which I conſider your inſtructions to veſt me: I therefore declared to the Nabob, in preſence of the miniſter and Mr. Johnſon, who I deſired might bear witneſs of the converſation, that I conſtrued his rejection of the meaſure propoſed as a breach of his ſolemn promiſe to you, and an unwillingneſs to yield that aſſiſtance which was evidently in his power towards liquidating his heavy accumulating debt to the Company, and that I muſt in conſequence determine, in my own juſtification, to iſſue immediately the Perwannahs, which had only been withheld in the ſanguine hope that he would be prevailed upon to make that his own act, which nothing but the moſt urgent neceſſity could force me to make mine. He left me without any reply, but afterwards ſent for his miniſter, and authorized him to give me hopes that my requiſition would be complied with; on which I expreſſed my ſatisfaction, but declared that I could admit of no further delays, and unleſs I received his Excellency's formal acquieſcence before the evening, I ſhould then moſt aſſuredly iſſue my Perwannahs; which I have accordingly done, not having had any aſſurances from his Excellency that could juſtify a further ſuſpenſion. I ſhall, as ſoon as poſſible, inform you of the effect of the Perwannahs, which, in many parts, I am apprehenſive it will be found neceſſary to enforce with military aid; I am not, however, entirely without hopes that the Nabob, when

he

he ſees the inefficacy of further oppoſition, may alter his conduct, and prevent the confuſion and diſagreeable conſequences which would be too likely to reſult from the proſecution of a meaſure of ſuch importance, without his concurrence. His Excellency talks of going to Fayzabad, for the purpoſe heretofore mentioned, in three or four days: I wiſh he may be ſerious in this intention, and you may reſt aſſured I ſhall ſpare no pains to keep him to it.

I am, &c.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, 9th Dec. 1781.

I HAD the honour to addreſs you on the 7th inſtant, informing you of the converſation which had paſſed between the Nabob and me on the ſubject of reſuming the Jaghiers, and the ſtep I had taken in conſequence.—His Excellency appeared to be very much hurt and incenſed at the meaſure, and loudly complains of the treachery of his miniſters; firſt, in giving you any hopes that ſuch a meaſure would be adopted; and, ſecondly, in their promiſing me their whole ſupport in carrying it through: But, as I apprehend, rather than ſuffer it to appear that the point had been carried in oppoſition to his will, he at length yielded a nominal acquieſcence, and has this day iſſued his own Perwannahs to that effect; declaring however, at the ſame time, both to me and his miniſters, that it is an act of compulſion.—I hope to be able, in a few days, in conſequence of this meaſure, to tranſmit you an account of the actual value and produce of the Jaghiers, oppoſed to the nominal amount at which they ſtand rated on the books of the Sircar.

I have the pleaſure to inform you, the Nabob ſtill adheres to his reſolution of proceeding immediately to Fyzabad, for the purpoſes already mentioned to you, and will, I believe, depart in three days from this date. I entertain the moſt flattering and ſanguine expectations from his journey; and we ſhall not be kept long in ſuſpenſe concerning the reſult, as he is convinced of the danger and impropriety of delay.

Sir Elijah Impey has ſignified to me your final commands reſpecting the Nabob of Furruckabad, and Iſhmael Beg; in both which inſtances reſt aſſured they ſhall be implicitly obeyed. I wait only the arrival of Suſtulla Cawn, whom Sir Elijah informed me you had diſpatched to me, to withdraw every ſhadow of interference in the government of Furruckabad. Iſmael Beg's accounts with the

the Nabob ſhall be inveſtigated in the manner you direct, and full information tranſmitted you the moment I can ſpare time from the two important objects to which you have directed my firſt attention.

Under this date I have diſpatched to you, at the Nabob's deſire, two Elephants, with an Ambarry and Howdah, four Horſes, a Palenquin, a Maulah Seerpeach, and Caulgah, appertaining to the dreſs, &c. you did him the honour to accept at Chunar.

I am, &c.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

To Mr. Middleton.

Sir, Benares, 26th December 1781.

MY mind has been for ſome days ſuſpended between two oppoſite impulſes; one ariſing from the neceſſity of my return to Calcutta; the other from the apprehenſion of my preſence being more neceſſary and more urgently wanted at Lucknow. Your anſwer to this ſhall decide my choice.

I have waited thus long in the hopes of hearing that ſome progreſs had been made in the execution of the plan which I concluded with the Nabob in September laſt. I do not find that any ſtep towards it has been yet taken, though three months are elapſed, and little more than that period did appear to me requiſite to have accompliſhed the moſt eſſential parts of it, and to have brought the whole into train. This tardineſs, and the oppoſition prepared to the only decided act yet undertaken, have a bad appearance. I approve the Nabob's reſolutions to deprive the Begums of their ill-employed treaſures. In both ſervices it muſt be your care to prevent an abuſe of the powers given to thoſe that are employed in them. You yourſelf ought to be perſonally preſent. You muſt not allow any negociations or forbearance, but muſt proſecute both ſervices until the Begums are at the entire mercy of the Nabob, their Jaghires in the quiet poſſeſſion of his Aumils, and their wealth in ſuch charge as may ſecure it againſt private embezzlement. You will have a force more than ſufficient to effect both theſe purpoſes.

The reformation of his army, and the new ſettlement of his revenues, are alſo points of immediate concern, and ought to be immediately concluded. Has any thing been done in either?

I now demand and require you moſt ſolemnly to anſwer me. Are you confident in your own ability to accompliſh all theſe purpoſes, and the other points of my inſtructions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with

with a quiet and aſſured mind to the preſidency, but leave you a dreadful reſponſibility if you diſappoint me. If you tell me that you cannot rely upon your * power, and

. . . .

the other means which you poſſeſs, for performing theſe ſervices, I will free you from the charge; I will proceed myſelf to Lucknow, and I will myſelf undertake them; and in that caſe I deſire that you will immediately order bearers to be ſtationed, for myſelf and two other gentlemen, between Lucknow and Illahabad, and I will ſet out from hence in three days after the receipt of your letter.

I am ſorry that I am under the neceſſity of writing in this preſſing manner; I truſt implicitly to your integrity: I am certain of your attachment to myſelf, and I know that your capacity is equal to any ſervice; but I muſt expreſs my doubts of your firmneſs and activity, and above all, of your recollection of my inſtructions, and of their importance. My conduct in the late arragements will be arraigned with all the rancor of diſappointed rapacity, and my reputation and influence will ſuffer a mortal wound from the failure of them. They have already failed in a degree, ſince no part of them has yet taken place, but the removal of our forces from the Douab and Rohilcund, and of the Britiſh officers and penſioners from the ſervice of the Nabob; and the expences of the former thrown, without any compenſation, on the Company.

I expect a ſupply of money equal to the diſcharge of all the Nabob's arrears, and am much diſappointed and mortified that I am not now able to return with it.

Give me an immediate anſwer to the queſtion which I have herein propoſed, that I may loſe no more time in fruitleſs inaction. I am, &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

From the Nabob Vizier to the Reſident.

I HAVE received the Governor's letter, directing me to withdraw my Naib from Nabob Mozuffer Jung, leaving the Bundebuſt to be ſettled by him; I have accordingly been waiting for a reſponſible perſon on that part of Mozuffer Jung, to attend and account with you for the Company's aſſignments, that I might then recall my ſervant from thence, and after that addreſs the Governor reſpecting my humiliation. Hitherto no one from Mozuffer Jung has appeared for that purpoſe. Mozuffer Jung, on receipt of the Governor's letter, ſent a copy of it to Almas Ally Khan, which I now encloſe you. It being my wiſh to give ſatisfaction in all reſpects to the Governor, I relinquiſh all interference with Mozuffer

* *A blank is left here in the original.*

Jung's

Jung's dominions. The particulars reſpecting Mozuffer Jung, from the beginning, are theſe:—On the death of Ahmud Khan, the brothers and family of Mozuffer Jung attempted to deprive him of the Muſnud, when my father ſent his troops to ſupport him, who engaged with the Patans of Mhow, &c. who were in oppoſition, and eſtabliſhed Mozuffer Jung in his acceſſion. Since this, I have protected him againſt his brothers, Meerbhaun Khan, &c. Houſehold ſlaves, allotting, at my own charge, one thouſand troops and artillery for his guard; the truth of which enquire of others: you will know in what manner he has made good, during theſe five years, the tributs promiſed for theſe ſervices. From the beginning, when every thing was in his own power, by his indolence, and the knavery of his ſervants, nothing was received; I therefore was reduced to the neceſſity of appointing a reſponſible man; and in the ſame manner as I ſettled the collections of my own country, cauſing engagements or bonds to be written by my Aumils for the Company's aſſignments, and payment of the ſame, to you, ſo Mozuffer Jung took engagements on bonds from his Aumils, to ſecure the payment of the Company's aſſignments, to him; but from the ignorance of Mozuffer Jung, and knavery of his ſervants, the aſſignments have not been paid, which will appear from the ballance accumulated during the collectorſhip of Mr. Shee. Thus circumſtanced, I appointed Almas Ally Khan, that having adjuſted every matter reſpecting Mozuffer Jung to his ſatisfaction, he might effectually ſettle the Bundebuſt of the country.—Now the Governor writes me, not to have any one there—His pleaſure is the line of my conduct—There is due to me from Nabob Mozuffer Jung, to the end of the year rupees 1,58,456;—this I will aſſign to the Company towards the payment of my debt to them, which, if ſatisfactory to be received from Mozuffer Jung, you will give me credit for the ſame in part of payment of the Company's claim on me, and I ſhall recall my ſervant from thence, not meaning to offer any excuſe. This being ſettled, I ſhall addreſs to the Governor on the ſubject of my preſent and future humiliation. If I heſitate, the Governor may deem it an oppoſition to his will: if I recall my Aumil, it will be conſidered by Mozuffer Jung as a relinquiſhment of my claim. Do you therefore, my friend, take immediate ſatisfactory ſteps for the recovery of the debt, that I may withdraw my Aumil in obedience to the Governor's orders. It is notorious that his friendſhip and connexion with me exceeds that of any other prince of Hindoſtan; and in return for which, my life and fortune are devoted to him. The particular and declared object of my application for the removal of

Mr.

Mr. Shee, was to obtain the uncontrouled management of Furruckabad, which was granted me accordingly, and made an article of my laſt agreement. What has led the Governor to alter his ſentiments on this point, I am at a loſs to conceive. My humiliation will reach Dehly. When you ſhall have taken the neceſſary ſteps for ſecuring payment of the claims from thence, let me know, and I will recall the Aumil, and then I will write the Governor. — My elevation or diſgrace remain in his breaſt.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, 28th Dec. 1781.

I DO myſelf the honour to incloſe you letters from Koman and Goſeman Sing, brought to me by one of my ſervants, who was in thoſe quarters. They conceive, or affect to conceive, that you have ſome deſigns upon Bundeeleund, and volunteer themſelves to act in conjunction, offering to join with a large body of cavalry, in hopes of benefiting by any ſuch expedition, or at leaſt ſaving their own ſhares of that country: I do not know whether you will think them deſerving of any anſwer.

Your letter of the 24th is juſt arrived, ordering the temporary brigade to be again put on the Vizier's liſt, which the late treaty had juſt eaſed him of. Nothing leſs than blows can effect this; for he is not even able to pay off the arrears ſtill due to it for the laſt year, which, with the 2½ months ſtipulated by the treaty, amount to nine lacks, by Mr. Day's ſtatement. Upwards of twelve lacks have been paid to Mr. Wombwell, beſides remittances made to the ſecond brigade and Colonel Muir, and ſcarce ſix lacks have yet been collected: a hard ſtrain of private credit alone has made theſe large extra payments, and total ruin muſt inevitably be the conſequence of any interruption in the recovery of the money advanced. However, this is merely a private conſideration, and therefore cannot weigh in public meaſures; but in a public light, the troops being all in arrears, and no poſſibility of preſent payment, ſo large a body aſſembled here, without any means in hand to check or controul them, nothing but diſorder could follow. As one proof that the Nabob is as badly off for funds as we are, I may inform you that his cavalry roſe this day upon him, and went all armed to the palace, to demand from 13 to 18 months arrears due to them; and with great difficulty perſuaded to retire, which was probable more effected by a body of troops getting under arms to go againſt them, than any other conſideration. Without troubling you with detail of arguments, I may venture to pledge myſelf to you, that the additional demand you propoſe making cannot

this

this year be obtained without a total reform of his government, which, if brought about by a campaign againſt him (by which alone it can be done) would, at the ſame time, ſtop at once all reſources of collections; ſo that, admitting ſucceſs, our ſituation, in point of finance, would be worſe than before. As I feel confident of your full credit to this aſſertion, I ſhall add nothing further upon the ſubject, excepting, that the troops hitherto called for by the Vizier have been ſolicited under that article of the late treaty which authorizes him to remove the ſubſidiary brigade where he pleaſes, with the concurrence of the Reſident; which power is ſtill more fully explained in the letter of inſtructions:—Both papers can only allude to the troops which they ſtipulate to remain within the Vizier's dominions. Whenever you no longer may chuſe to permit his detaching the brigade, he muſt then of courſe conduct his meaſures by his own Sebundy, or be driven to make new propoſals from himſelf for the aid and pay of our regiments.

As I have made uſe of the name of the temporary brigade in the firſt part of my letter, it may be neceſſary to remind you that one additional regiment is already paid by the Nabob, to which add 4 regiments, and a train of artillery, now propoſed, makes ten battalions of 500 men each, which is equal to ſeven battalions of 780 men, which formed the temporary brigade, as ſtipulated to be paid by the Nabob.

I ſincerely hope, though I ſcarcely expect, to avoid diſpleaſing you by the freedom of this repreſentation. But, as it is impoſſible that you ſhould poſſeſs facts without their being plainly ſtated, and as you cannot act upon any other grounds while aiming, as I know you do, to do that which is beſt, I muſt run the riſque, or ſerve you unfaithfully, which would contradict what I ſhall ever endeavour to prove, that I am, upon all occaſions, your truly devoted,

&c. &c.

R. JOHNSON.

To the honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor-general, &c. &c.
Benaras.

30th December 1781.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor-general, &c. &c.

Sir,

THE ſolemn call you have made upon me, in your commands of the 26th inſtant, with which I was honoured yeſterday, demands from me the moſt unreſerved and decided

cided reply; and that I might not advance any thing haſtily, I took all yeſterday to deliberate upon my reply: for the ſake of perſpicuity, I have thought it beſt to recapitulate the ſeveral paragraphs of your letter, and arrange my anſwers to them reſpectively in the ſame order.

1ſt. My mind has been for ſome days ſuſpended between two oppoſite impulſes; one ariſing from the neceſſity of my return to Calcutta, the other from the apprehenſion of my preſence being more immediately and more urgently wanted at Lucknow; your anſwer to this ſhall decide my choice.

To this paragraph I freely anſwer, that your preſence is in no ſhape neceſſary here, but, on the contrary, could not fail of being of conſiderable retardment to the collections; becauſe in theſe countries the motions of governors are looked upon to imply at intended exertions, and with them great changes; conſequently all agents in public ſtations, from the higheſt to the meaneſt, put an immediate ſtop to all their avocations, and gaze motionleſs for the reſult. This is the height of the Khereiff collection, and any impediments now thrown in the way loſes the produce of the crop. The encloſed ſtatement ſhews what I have received, and what I have diſburſed; it will at firſt ſight evince the importance of realizing every immediate reſource. The current diſburſements of the 2d brigade have not been made good, and the arrears due from the Nabob to the late temporary brigade and cavalry, agreeably to ſtipulation, have not yet been liquidated.

2d. I have waited thus long, in hopes of hearing that ſome progreſs has been made in the execution of the plan which I concluded with the Nabob in September laſt; I do not find that any ſtep towards it has yet been

In reply to the ſecond paragraph, I beg leave to refer you to my former letters, ſtating the turbulent ſtate of the country. Three months is a period in which the changes you allude to probably might have been effected

taken, though three months are elapſed, and little more than that period did appear to me requiſite to have accompliſhed the moſt eſſential parts of it, and to have brought the whole into train. This tardineſs, and the oppoſition prepared to the only decided act yet undertaken, have a bad appearance.

fected in times of perfect tranquility; but when all the diſtricts acroſs the Gogra were in arms, and all the Jagheerdars (a very numerous and powerful body) were very little ſhort of the ſame ſtate in every diſtrict, and for the regulating and reduction of whom the Aumils were principally to be applied to—could a general change or attack upon thoſe Aumils with eaſe have been undertaken? I think not; but I put this argument of the practicability or impracticability out of the queſtion, as it was not that conſideration which prevented me from enforcing the meaſures recommended by you to the Nabob in the treaty;—the fact is this: I did not underſtand, at the period of executing the agreement between you and the Vizier, that your intention was, that the whole of the reform propoſed was in its fulleſt extent to take place *this* year, nor indeed at all, if the Compan'ys debt became liquidated; I conceive your interference in the Nabob's government tended ſolely to eſtabliſh the means of the moſt ſpeedy payment poſſible of the Company's debt; and that whenever this ſhould be accompliſhed, every ſhadow of interference was to be deſiſted from, which I ſtated to the Nabob and the miniſters—and I believe upon the faith of that aſſurance principally was his Excellency's acquieſcence obtained. For the proſecution of

theſe

theſe meaſures, I looked to the occaſional aſſiſtance of the regiments of the ſubſidiary brigade, as permitted in the treaty, and your ſubſequent inſtructions, and intended employing the Aumils and their Sebundy in the firſt inſtance for the reduction of the Jagheerdars, that I might not have the whole country to attack at once. This mode of proceeding threatened no interruption to the collections, but an immediate increaſe of means in hand to defray the charges of the troops, and without which previous point even our own army muſt be uſeleſs. The meaſure of reſuming the Jagheers involved many and ſome very powerful intereſts, ſubject to ſuch odium, from the diſappointment of the parties, deprived of their means of ſubſiſtence, and in ſuch extenſive dominions, under a government ſo irregular in its conſtitution, and ſo ſhaken as this is, it could not be effectually accompliſhed in a day.—However, it is now effected nearly throughout with the Nabob's ſanction (which at the point of execution there was the moſt alarming difficulty to obtain) and in a very few days I truſt it will be completely enforced; and, bad as the appearance of oppoſition may be, I truſt to be able to execute the whole reform, without delay, upon the grounds I ſhall ſtate in my anſwer to your paragraphs ſucceſſively.

3d. I approve the Nabob's reſolution to deprive the Begums of their ill-employed treaſures. In both ſervices it muſt be your care to prevent an abuſe of the powers given to thoſe that are employed in them. You yourſelf ought to be perſonally preſent. — You muſt not allow any negociation or forbearance, but muſt proſecute both ſervices until the Begums are at the entire mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers in the quiet poſſeſſion of his Aumils, and their wealth in ſuch charge as may ſecure it againſt private embezzlement.— You will have a force more than ſufficient to effect both theſe purpoſes.

To the 3d paragraph I ſhall only ſay, that I march to-morrow with the Nabob to enforce both the ſervices you exact in it; and if I ſucceed, as I have the ſtrongeſt reaſons to hope, in obtaining large ready money reſources towards liquidating the arrears to the troops, which form a large proportion of the debt to the Company, I have not a doubt of accompliſhing every end you have now declared you look to the inſtant performance of; but as troops alone can do it, their aſſiſtance cannot be depended upon without previous pay, or the poſſeſſion of certain means in hand for that purpoſe; as it follows, that an immediate ſtop to all collections muſt enſue from any general military exertion.

4th. The reformation of his army, and the new ſettlement of his revenues, are alſo points of immediate concern, and ought to be immediately concluded. Has any thing been done in either?

To the 4th I anſwer, that nothing has been done, for the reaſons aſſigned in my anſwer to the ſecond paragraph. If I erred in the judgment I had formed of your intentions, I can ſay no more, as it is paſſed, than that the inſtant the Fyzabad buſineſs is finiſhed ſucceſſfully, which cannot take more than one fortnight from the day of marching there, I ſhall take ſuch ſteps as the means in my power will admit of towards procuring from the Nabob the orders to each Aumil to pay his groſs revenues to the Miniſters, and to receive the pay of their troops, being reduced into regular muſtered eſtabliſhments, from

from the general treaſury; and ſhould he refuſe, I will iſſue my own, together with thoſe of the miniſters to that purpoſe, as I did in a former inſtance when the Nabob refuſed his Perwannahs for the reſumption of the Jagheers; and ſhall further enforce the execution againſt each diſobeying Aumil, by marching againſt him, and diſplacing him. Theſe three points complete the heads of your recommendations to the Nabob, the Fourth Article, which was the ſeparation and limitation of his own diſburſements to the medium of his receipts for the laſt three years, having already taken place; and then no aſſignments will remain upon the country, but thoſe of the Company, as expreſſed in the treaty.

5th. I now demand, and require you moſt ſolemnly to anſwer me: Are you confident in your own ability to accompliſh all theſe purpoſes, and the other points of my inſtructions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with a quiet and aſſured mind to the preſidency, but leave you a dreadful reſponſibility if you diſappoint me. —— If you tell me that you cannot rely upon your power, and the other means which you poſſeſs, for performing theſe ſervices, I will free you from the charge, I will proceed myſelf to Lucknow, and I will myſelf undertake them; and in that

To the 5th I confidently reply, That I am fully competent to undertake and effect the completion of the reform, upon the grounds ſtated in my anſwer to the 4th paragraph; and therefore again repeat, that your coming here is unneceſſary; and that, as far as regards the duties of my ſtation towards the execution of your orders, you may depart, in conviction that neither activity or firmneſs ſhall be wanting in the exertion of every means within my power: And thoſe means I can foreſee no deficiency in, upon the permiſſion I have of calling upon Colonel Morgan for

caſe, I deſire that you will immediately order Benares to be ſtationed for myſelf and two other gentlemen, between Lucknow and Illahabad, and I will ſet out from hence in three days after the receipt of your letters.

6th. I am ſorry that I am under the neceſſity of writing in this preſſing manner. I truſt implicitly to your integrity, I am certain of your attachment to myſelf, and I know that your capacity is equal to any ſervice; but I muſt expreſs my doubts of your firmneſs and activity, and above all of your recollection of my inſtructions, and of their importance.

7th. My conduct in the late arrangements will be arraigned with all the rancor of diſappointment, rapacity, and my reputation and influence will ſuffer a mortal wound from the failure of them. They have already failed in a degree, ſince no part of them has yet taken place, but the removal of our forces from the Doaub, and Rohilchund, and of Britiſh officers and penſioners from the ſervice of the Nabob; and the expence of the former thrown without any compenſation on the Company.

aid, and the receipt of aſſets at Fyzabad.—For theſe reaſons, therefore, I have not thought it neceſſary to lay the bearers that you conditionally ordered.

In reply to the 6th paragraph, nothing need be offered by me but my acknowledgments for the juſtice you do to my ſentiments towards your perſon and government.

To the 7th. If your conduct ſhould be arraigned, as you ſuſpect, I can at all times teſtify that, upon the plan of the foregoing years, the receipts from the Nabob were only a deception, and not an advantage, but even an injury to the Company; for by the accumulating encreaſe of the demands upon him, and the proportionate decreaſe of his means, only his debt to the Company encreaſed, with a diminution of proſpect of its liquidation; while the Company's actual money or aſſets went to the payment of the troops ſuppoſed to be maintained ſolely at the Vizier's expence. In proof of this, it will ſuffice to remark that the annual net remittances to the preſidency ſhould have been the difference

ference of the ſubſidy, and the real expences of the brigade; ſay,	12,00,000
The money paid from the treaſury at Calcutta, to Abdulrahman Khan	3,30,000
And the payment made in like manner to Mirza Sadit Ally	3,00,000
Beſides the full payment of ſuch ſtores as the Company occaſionally iſſued to the Nabob	
Sun. Rup.	18,30,000

or about 20,00,000 of current, which never yet has been the caſe from the annual Jaidads, or current collections — conſequently the plan was a fallacy; for the difference between this amount and the remittances to the preſidency was an actual loſs that the Company annually ſuſtained, inſtead of a ſuppoſed advantage of a brigade of infantry and cavalry being totally defrayed by the Nabob; from this therefore I may ſafely conclude, that the remiſſion to the Nabob of this inſufferable burthen was a profit to the Company whenever the extra troops paid by the Nabob ſhall be diſbanded or quartered upon other neighbours, who are protected by our power, and the debt put into a probable ſtate of ſpeedy liquidation.

8th. I expect a ſupply of money equal to the diſcharge of all the Nabob's arrears; and am much diſappointed and mortified, that I am not now able to return with it.

To the 8th paragraph. If the ſupply expected at Fyzabad ſhall prove adequate to the diſcharge of all arrears due to the troops, and afford an adequate fund for a liquidation of the Company's debt, it will remain at your option to employ it as a remitance to the preſidency, or the future payment of the troops you may ſtill think neceſſary to keep up, to regulate the Nabob's internal government, in regard to which I ſhall hope for your determination, when I can inform you of what means I poſſeſs.

9th. Give me an immediate anſwer to the queſtion which I have herein propoſed, that I may loſe no more time in fruitleſs inaction.

To the laſt paragraph. I truſt you will find all my anſwers as explicit and deciſive as you could wiſh them, and that they will enable you to determine upon yielding with confidence to the impulſe ariſing from the neceſſity of your preſence at the preſidency.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.
Lucknow, - Reſident at the Vizier's Court.
30th Dec. 1781.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, 30th Dec. 1781.

I HAVE this day anſwered your public letter, in the form you ſeemed to expect. I hope there is nothing in it that may to you appear too pointed. If you wiſh the matter to be otherwiſe underſtood than I have taken up and ſtated it, I need not ſay I ſhall be ready to conform to whatever you may preſcribe, and to take upon myſelf any ſhare of the blame of the (hitherto) non-performance of the ſtipulations made on behalf of the Nabob; though I do aſſure you, I myſelf repreſented to his Excellency and the miniſters, conceiving it to be your deſire, that the apparent aſſumption of the reins of his government (for in that light he undoubtedly conſidered it at the firſt view) as ſpecified in the agreement executed

cuted by him, was not meant to be *fully* and *literally* enforced, but that it was neceſſary you ſhould have ſomething to ſhew on your ſide, as the Company were deprived of a benefit without a requital; and upon the faith of this aſſurance alone, I believe I may ſafely affirm his Excellency's objections to ſigning the treaty were given up. If I have underſtood the matter wrong, or miſconceived your deſign, I am truly ſorry for it; however it is not too late to correct the error; and I am ready to undertake, and, God willing, to carry through, whatever you may, on receipt of my public letter, tell me is your final reſolve.

If you determine at all events, that the meaſure of reducing the Nabob's army, &c. ſhall be immediately undertaken, I ſhall take it as a particular favour if you will indulge me with a line at Fyzabad, that I may make the neceſſary previous arrangements with reſpect to the diſpoſal of my family, which I would not wiſh to retain here in the event either of a rupture with the Nabob, or the neceſſity of employing our forces in the reduction of his Aumils and troops; this done, I can begin the work in three days after my return from Fyzabad.

I am, &c. &c.

NATH. MIDDLETON.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

Camp, Kella, Fyzabad, Jan. 14th 1782.

Honourable Sir,

SOME buſineſs of importance, which the Reſident had to ſettle at Fyzabad, occaſioned my ſuddenly joining him there. After my arrival, a couple of days paſſed in negociation, but without effect; and the party in the town collecting, and hourly gaining ſtrength, at length, after mature deliberation, it was reſolved that I ſhould, with my regiment, and four guns, ſtorm the town, which I effected the 12th in the morning. I very ſoon got poſſeſſion of the Kella, in which is the palace and Zenanah, and as there was not only ſeveral gates but openings in the walls, as I entered on one ſide they eſcaped at the other; but ſhortly after the party returned again, headed by the two principal Eunuchs, Bahr Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, and drew up oppoſite and within ſixty yards of one of my poſts, with three guns, and added the moſt aggravated behaviour; however, as they did not fire, or offer any other acts of hoſtility, and when I reflected on the conſequence that would attend a conteſted diſpute in the ſtreets of the town; of the Zenanah, &c. being ſubject to be plundered even by themſelves, which

would have been attributed to me; and being ſo ſituated for the ſafety of the female part of the family on one hand, who were under the moſt dreadful apprehenſion, and for the ſupport of his Excellency's authority on the other, who was waiting the reſult on the outſide of the town, I was for a ſhort time doubtful how to decide; however, as I had Mahomed Affrein Cawn along with me, a perſon in high favour with the Nabob, and well acquainted with both parties, I deſired to circulate lenient advice, pointing out how fatal an attack would be to them, and inevitable ruin to thoſe they appeared ſo zealous to ſupport. It had the effect; the two Eunuchs immediately ſurrendered, their people inſtantly left the town, and I ordered their guns to be dragged away.

As ſoon as the tumultuous noiſe was over, and I had poſted guards for the ſafety of the palace, &c. I directly ſent a Chubdar to the Begum, and offered every aſſiſtance ſhe might want, and at the ſame time conſiſtent with my inſtructions, which ſhe accepted; and now I have the ſatisfaction to inform you the ſhops are all open, and peace and tranquillity prevail through the town.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Z. NAYLOR.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, &c.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I HAVE had this day the honour to receive your commands of the 25th ultimo, and am extremely concerned that the mode of conducting the Fayzabad buſineſs, as ſet forth in my addreſs of the 18th January, did not meet your entire approbation. Permit me to aſſure you, Sir, it is with the greateſt reluctance I ever venture to deviate from the expreſs letter of your inſtructions; and I cannot accuſe myſelf of having done it on any occaſion, where it did not appear to my judgment that the object and ſpirit of them rendered it adviſeable, and that the apparent neceſſity would juſtify ſuch latitude.

In the preſent inſtance, it was more in appearance and expreſſion, than in fact, that any deviation was made from your orders of the 26th December; for although I was conſtrained, from my ſtrict regard to the accompliſhment of what I conſidered the firſt object of this undertaking, to admit of a temporary forbearance, for the reaſons aſſigned in my addreſs of the 18th ultimo, the Begums were at that time to be conſidered as entirely at the mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers were in the poſſeſſion of his Aumils, their troops diſperſed, and the

Kella

Kella of Fayzabad, which included alſo the Bhow Begum's own habitation, under the guard of his Excellency's and our troops.

It remained only to get poſſeſſion of her wealth; and, to effect this, it was then, and is ſtill, my firm and unalterable opinion, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to employ temporizing expedients, and to work upon the hopes and fears of the Begum herſelf, and more eſpecially upon thoſe of her principal agents, through whoſe means alone there appeared any probable chance of our getting acceſs to the hidden treaſures of the late Vizier; and when I acquaint you that by far the greateſt part of the treaſure which has been delivered to the Nabob, was taken from the moſt ſecret receſſes in the houſes of the two Eunuchs, whence of courſe it could not have been extracted without the adoption of thoſe means which could induce the diſcovery, I ſhall hope for your approbation of what I did. I muſt alſo obſerve, that no further rigour than that which I exerted could have been uſed againſt females in this country, to whom there can be no acceſs. The Nabob and Salar Jung were the only two who could enter the Zenanah: The firſt was a ſon, who was to addreſs a parent, and of courſe could uſe no language or action but that of earneſt and reiterated ſolicitation; and the other was in all appearance a traitor to our cauſe: Where force could be employed, it was not ſpared. The troops of the Begum were driven away and diſperſed, their guns taken, her fort, and the outward walls of her houſe, ſeized, and occupied by our troops, at the Nabob's requiſition, and her chief agents impriſoned and put in irons.—No further ſtep was left.—And in this ſituation they ſtill remain, and are to continue (excepting only a remiſſion of the irons) until the final liquidation of the payment; and if then you deem it proper, no poſſible means of offence being left in her hands or thoſe of her agents, all her lands and property having been taken, I mean, with your ſanction, to reſtore her houſe and ſervants to her; and hope to be favoured with your early reply, as I expect that a few days will complete the final ſurrender of all that is further expected from the Begum.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

NATH. MIDDLETON,
Reſident at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,
15th February 1782.

To

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at the Court of the Nabob Vizier, Lucknow.

Sir,

WHEN his higneſs the Vizier did me the honour of a viſit at Chunar, he made me a requeſt, that we might have an interview once in every year, for the purpoſes of diſcuſſing and adjuſting the mutual concerns of the Company and himſelf, and of improving the harmony and confidence which ſubſiſted between the two governments. To this requiſition I readily aſſented, and greatly lament that the ſituation of affairs makes it impoſſible for me to effect a meeting at this time. The preſent important conjuncture demands the united and vigorous exertions of both governments for their common ſafety and ſucceſs; and in this ſituation, whilſt the greateſt cordiality is requiſite, you inform me that his highneſs is much diſſatiſfied on many points contained in our late agreement, and which he made his own requeſt.—To remove his uneaſineſs on theſe ſubjects, and to give him entire ſatisfaction on others which may be the objects of his fears and ſuſpicions, and to give a laſting cement and encreaſe of ſtrength and reciprocal advantage to our alliance, would be impracticable by any other mode than verbal communication, explanations, and aſſurances; and as, for the reaſon above aſſigned, I cannot make theſe in perſon, I think it indiſpenſable to delegate the truſt to another.—For theſe purpoſes I have deputed Major Palmer to attend his Highneſs and his miniſters at Lucknow. Major Palmer, as you know, has been my confidential ſecretary for ſeveral years; I have diſcloſed to him, without reſerve, my ſentiments on every point of the relative connection between the Company and the court of Oude, and I can rely upon him for a faithful explanation of them.

I have alſo inſtructed Major Palmer to give the moſt expreſs aſſurances to the Miniſters, of my approbation of their conduct, and determination to protect and ſupport them, ſo long as they preſerve their attachment to this government, and purſue the real intereſt of the Vizier.

Major Palmer has other public objects in charge, which he will perſonally communicate to you; and I moſt earneſtly require of you the ſtrongeſt co-operation of your authority and influence towards his attaining them. I think his ſucceſs almoſt certain, if he meets with your cordial ſupport and aſſiſtance: whatever may be the event, a conſiderable ſhare in producing it will be attributed to you, and affect you accordingly.

Such explanations as are intended ſolely for the ſatisfaction of the Nabob, and coming from myſelf, I have directed

rected Major Palmer to communicate ſeparately to him, but in doing this, to uſe every precaution to avoid any dimunition of your authority or influence.

I have ſent Major Davy as a confidential Aſſiſtant to Major Palmer, and in caſe any accident ſhould happen, the latter to execute his commiſſion.

Fort William, I am, Sir,
May 7th, 1782. Your obedient, &c. &c.
(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at Lucknow.

Sir, Fort William, 10th Aug. 1782.

I HAVE had the mortification to hear that Almaſs Ally Cawn has at length, as was long ſince foreboded, fled from the Vizier's dominions, taking with him an immenſe treaſure, the fruits of his embezzlements and known oppreſſions. Though this intelligence has not come through its authentic channel, I have no dobt of its truth; I am compelled to credit the reports which aſſure me that every point of the Vizier's adminiſtration is in the ſame diſorder. For this, and every other failure in the inſtructions which I gave to you in writing on the 20th September, at Chunar, you are ſolely reſponſible to this government, as Hyder Beg Cawn is to the Nabob; for to your conjoint hands has the adminiſtration of his affairs been from that time committed.

I have received your repeated aſſurances, addreſſed to myſelf and to the Board, that the Nabob's debt to the Company ſhould be completely diſcharged by the cloſe of the year. In my fears for a diſappointment in this expectation, and in the contrary belief, that in its actual train the debt is more likely to exceed the amount at which it ſtood the laſt year, than to be paid, I hereby apprize you, that if at the end of the Fuſſellee year any part of it ſhall remain in arrears, I ſhall move the Board to call upon you publicly to account for it; and, that you may know that this declaration is not made on light grounds, I ſhall enter a copy of this letter upon the Company's records. It will do you no injury, if you diſprove the juſtice of my ſuſpicions by the effects of your exertions.

I have written to Hyder Beg upon the ſame ſubject, and intended to refer you to his letter for my fuller ſentiments, but I ſhall not have it ready for diſpatch for this poſt.

I am, Sir, &c.

Patna, the 17th Aug. 1782.

Extracts

Extracts of Mr. Middleton's Defence, to the Governor-general and Council.

THE current annual claims varied from 70 to 130 lacks of rupees, which the revenues of the country, as will appear by reference to former accounts, never anſwered to, ſeldom yielding to the Reſident's treaſury beyond from 60 to 80 lacks, the conſequence of which was, that the balance was annually accumulating inſtead of decreaſing by the annual receipts. When I took charge of the office of Collector of the Vizier's aſſignments to the Company, this balance upon the Reſident's book, cloſed to the end of the Fuſſulee year 1187, was 32 lacks, excluſive of 10½ lacks army donation. In the year 1188 it increaſed 12 lacks, making 44 lacks, when the Governor-general arrived at Benares the beginning of 1189. To diſcharge ſo much of this balance as was due to the Company, therefore, was the object of the treaty; and to enſure the accompliſhment of it in the ſhorteſt time poſſible, a plan was laid down, one part of which was the ſuſpenſion of ſundry current claims upon the Nabob; ſuch as Mr. Wombwell's office, and the temporary and cavalry brigades, which together amounted to ſo heavy an expence, that, with the continuance of them, even the current annual claim could not be anſwered, much leſs the abovementioned balance liquidated. But the year 1180, from unforeſeen events, was already began ere the treaty was ſigned; and theſe large bodies could not be removed without ſome previous notice. Between two and three months were aſſigned them for prepartion, in which time it was ſuppoſed ſufficient funds would have been forthcoming for their diſcharge. The paying them off involved *another balance* of arrears to them reſpectively, not included in the balance of 1187 and 1188 to the Company. Theſe arrears further ſwelled in their amount, becauſe the monthly collections to the period of their diſcharge were not equal to their pay and arrears, and a proviſion for the other indiſpenſable diſburſements of my office, which obliged me to deviſe other means of liquidating them; accordingly, after a long negociation, attended with much difficulty, I accompliſhed a loan at the beginning of the year, on my own credit, of 10 lacks; without which exertion, the reſources of the whole year would have been clogged with the increaſing amount of theſe arrears. While the effect of my negociation was yet in ſuſpenſe, *another balance*, before we heard of, amounting to upwards of 26 lacks, was ſent up from the preſidency. Why this balance was unknown to the Reſident, to the Governor-general, and conſequently not included at the ſigning

of

of the treaty, will be ſhewn in its proper place. I had pledged myſelf to the Governor-general for realizing *the Company's* balance, which of courſe meant the balance in agitation before us at the ſigning of the treaty which had *this* for its declared object.

Notwithſtanding which I realized both, as well as the *arrears*, then alſo unknown, and further replaced the failure of the aſſignment on Furruckabad, &c. amounting altogether to 138 lacks of Fyzabad ſiccas, near a crore and a half of current rupees, inſtead of 60, 70, or 80 lacks, which has been the utmoſt exertions of the management of former years.

The following ſhort ſketch of the groſs amount realized by me, will more clearly explain the foregoing.

Amount aſſignments for current claims, the firſt inſtallments of which I was forced to anticipate by an advance of 10 lacks - -	76,00,000
Amount balance agitated at the ſigning of the treaty, deducting army donation - -	44,00,000
Amount further balance from the preſidency	26,00,000
Rupees of Sorts	1,46,00,000

* * * * * * * * * * *

I ſhall now ſtate the circumſtances of the balances which I am charged for not realizing. I have ſaid that the balance, as it ſtood on the Reſident's books at the ſigning of the treaty, was the balanee I ſtood pledged to the Governor-general to realize. It afterwards appeared, that upon adjuſting the general books at the preſidency, a ſeparate balance, accumulated in a courſe of *ſeven years*, was due from the Nabob for military ſtores, &c. ſupplied from the Company's magazines, difference of coinage, and other heads therein particularized, amounting to 26 lacks to the 30th April 1779. But from circumſtances unknown to me, no intimation of any ſuch claims had ever before been given to me or my predeceſſors.

Notwithſtanding this, and its coming to me unaccompanied by any order of the Board, I propoſed, in my letter of the 21ſt February 1782, No. 8, to recover it, and did actually bring the amount to credit in my accounts for 1189, as ſtated in my addreſs to the honourable Board of the 7th September 1782, No. 9.

But after this, when the general books at the preſidency were brought up another year, *a further* ſimilar claim appeared for 14 lacks for the military ſtores, &c. ſupplied the Nabob to that period, the 30th April 1780. This came too late to be included within the year 1189. I had already exceeded my pledge, and accepted reſponſibility

bility from 44 to 70 lacks, above half as much again. I could not venture, at ſo advanced a period, or more properly the *cloſe* of the collections, to extend it to 84 lacks. The new reſources, formed on new ſavings, could not operate without end, nor in ſuch great proportions within the firſt year. Moreover, had I been poſſeſſed of reſources to enable me to include it, I met a greater oppoſition from the Nabob and his miniſters on the ſecond claim, than I had experienced on the firſt. Upon explaining the firſt account to them, when I came to the charge for military ſtores, they demand to have their deliveries of military ſtores, and the charge of the Candahar horſe, with the Bombay detachment ſet againſt it; when, after much difficulty, I prevailed ſo far as to induce them to ſuſpend this claim; aſſuring them that it would be duly and equitably conſidered in future account which the Governor-general's aſſurances afterwards to the Nabob confirmed. This ſerved once, but would not a ſecond time, when the demand of 14 lacks became repeated on the ſame grounds. So far from acquieſcing, they called upon me then to perform the aſſurances I had given them on the former occaſion, by ſetting againſt the account, the amount of their deliveries of ſtores, &c. which they would be ſatisfied to have eſtimated by any mode of valuation the Board would preſcribe. They argued that if I would not agree to this, they muſt conclude, that their claims were not meant to be conſidered, in which caſe "I might at once take the country, ſince juſtice was out "of the queſtion." This was their paſſionate language. I for the preſent yielded to it, and referred the claim to the conſideration of the Board, who alone could decide upon it.

Let me here be permitted to obſerve, that had the whole claims and expectations of the year been perſiſted in, they would have amounted to near double the Nabob's net revenue, viz.

Current claims — — —	76,00,000
Chunar balance, including donation —	55,00,000
Further balance to April 1779 — —	26,00,000
Do. — — April 1780 — —	14,00,000
Major Palmer's claims — —	82,00,000
	2,53,00,000

Upwards of two crores and a half; beſides arrears to troops recalled, and failures above explained, for which the Miniſter raiſed 25 or 26 lacks more.

Groſs

Groſs ſettlement	2,25,00,000
Deduct charges	80,00,000
Net revenue	1,45,00,000

of nominal revenue, never completely realized.

The Nabob's net revenue, to my knowledge, never exceeded a crore and a half, but generally fell very ſhort of that ſum.

* * * * * *

I had given the ſtrongeſt hopes of liquidating the Company's balance, for which I ſtood pledged, from the fruits of this negociation, and that I ſhould be able to conclude it in fourteen days.——I performed it within ten days after my arrival at Fyzabad; and I truſt, when the nature of this buſineſs becomes duly conſidered, my conduct in the execution of it will not appear any more a criminal diſobedience of orders, than it was a breach of promiſe on thoſe orders. As I underſtood the caſe, the Nabob had a claim of inheritance of his father's treaſures upon the Begums. The public treaſury was unqueſtionably his right, with the dominions and government that devolved upon him at his father's death; however, from conſideration of reſpect and attention to the Begums, the Company (upon their yielding up a part of the treaſures of the deceaſed, declaring it to be the whole) agreed to ſtand between them and any attack from the Nabob, and further guaranteed Jagheers for their ſubſiſtence.—The influence of the Company's Reſident at the court of the Vizier became the pledge and ſecurity of his Excellency's agreement with his family, and would probably have continued ſo to the preſent hour, had it not appeared that theſe Begums and their agents have uſed the property and power, thus encreaſed and preſerved by our mediation, as inſtruments againſt us. They fomented and joined in the plan of a general extirpation of the Engliſh. In return for which, the Company's guarantee was withdrawn. I was no longer to yield to them the protection of my office, but leave the Nabob to the recovery of his rights; my part being to take effectual care, that ſuch recovery ſhould be converted to the liquidation of the Company's balance, and generally to aſſiſt the Nabob in effecting the object. All this I did. I arrived at Fyzabad the 10th January, in three days.—On the 13th, at day-break, I put the Nabob in full and quiet poſſeſſion of the Kella and palace of the Begums, who were conſequently at his entire mercy and devotion. In ſeven days more, on the 20th, the buſineſs was concluded. Under that date, I informed the Governor-general of my ſucceſs; to which he replied, in terms that encouraged me to hope my conduct and complete ſucceſs in that very delicate buſineſs had

had met his approbation, and that the juſtification of my firſt proceedings, offered in my addreſs of the 5th February, would be admitted. The whole buſineſs took up but 10 days. I had promiſed 14 from the .... day of March.—I ſet out the 4th from Lucknow, which carries me two days beyond my promiſe; but had it taken twenty days, or even a month, it could not, I flatter myſelf, be termed a long or unwarrantable delay, when the importance of the buſineſs, and the peculiar embarraſſments attending the proſecution of it to its deſired end, are conſidered. The Nabob was ſon to the Begum we were to proceed againſt;—a ſon againſt a mother muſt at leaſt ſave appearances in his mode of proceeding. The produce of his negociation was to be received by the Company: receiving a benefit—accompanying the Nabob—withdrawing their protection—were circumſtances ſufficient to mark the Engliſh as the principal movers in this buſineſs. At a court where no opportunity is loſt to throw odium upon us, ſo favourable an occaſion was not miſſed to perſuade the Nabob that we inſtigated him to diſhonour his family for our benefit. The impreſſions made by ſuch ſuggeſtions conſtantly retarded the progreſs, and more than once actually broke off the buſineſs, which rendered the utmoſt caution on my part neceſſary, eſpecially as I had no aſſiſtance to expect from the miniſters, who could not openly move in the buſineſs. In the Eaſt it is well known, that no man, either by himſelf or his troops, can enter the walls of a Zenana, ſcarcely in the caſe of acting againſt an open enemy, much leſs of an Ally—an Ally againſt his own mother. The outward walls, and the Begum's agents, were all that were liable to immediate attack; they were dealt with, and ſucceſsfully, as the event proved. I therefore confidently truſt, if it ſhall appear to the honourable Board, as it does to me, that the ſpirit and main object of my orders were ſtrictly adhered to and fulfilled, that they will not longer hold me criminal for a deviation from the preciſe letter of them.

The 3d and laſt diviſion of my charge relates to the current buſineſs of my office, unconnected with the immediate objects of the treaty. This includes want of political information, exemplified in the flight of Almaſs Ally Cawn—Employment of troops—Diſorders in the Nabob's country, &c.

In anſwer to this charge, I muſt be permitted to obſerve, that beſides the general information contained in my liſt of my public correſpondence, hereto ſubjoined, immediately after my arrival at Lucknow, on the 2d October 1781, I gave a complete and particular detail of the

ſpreading

ſpreading of the rebellion (influenced by Rajah Cheyt Sing) throughout the country, with the teſtimony of Colonel Hannay, and other officers, which was afterwards confirmed in fuller detail, by the depoſitions taken on the ſpot by Sir Elijah Impey. After this, nothing new in that line occurred, the rebellion every day, and in every quarter, ſubſiding, not increaſing. Thoſe who roſe in ſupport of the Begums, my letter from Fayzabad ſtated; but they roſe and fell with the buſineſs, excepting one of the aids ſought by the Begums in Bulbudder Sing, who, in ſpite of all our efforts to cruſh him, continued his reſiſtance, and fell only two months ago.

* * * * * * * * * * *

P. S. I have thought it unneceſſary to mention, that I have made no diſtinction, in quoting my public correſpondence, between letters addreſſed to the Board, and to the Governor-general; the orders of the honourable Board of the third July 1781 (never ſince revoked) precluding the neceſſity of ſuch diſtinction.

Extracts of Letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Haſtings; dated Luchnow, 25th March, 1782.

THE third Article, which includes the Jaguire of Fizulla Cawn, among the reſt hitherto been deferred by the poſtſcript to your general inſtructions, which forbids it, until circumſtances may render it more expedient and eaſy to be attempted than the preſent more material purſuits of government make it appear. However, I beg leave to repeat, that a ſtipend or allowance, in ready money, to that chief, in lieu of his Jaguire lands, ſituated and peopled as they are by his own tribe, in vicinity to three capital territories of the ſame caſt, would be far more conducive to the intereſts and ſecurity of this government, and as ſuch permit me to recommend it to your conſideration.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Theſe compleat your inſtructions, ſince which you have directed, as an additional article, that the Nabob ſhould be ſupported in his claim upon the Bow Begum, for the inheritance of the late Vizier's public treaſure.—This has alſo been done; 45 lacks have been recovered, and the Begum's chief agents are now under ſevere reſtraint for the remainder of what they engaged to produce.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor-general, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

THE Begum having finally agreed to ſurrrender to the Nabob the treaſures of his late father, the Nabob Shujah ul Dowlah, which ſhe had hitherto retained in her poſſeſſion, his Excellency deſired me to withdraw the troops from the Killa, that the Begum might return into it, in order to deliver the treaſure. To this I conſented, as alſo to the re-delivery to the Nabob of the two Eunuchs, Bahar and Jowar Ally Cawn, without whoſe preſence and aſſiſtance nothing could be effected, as they were the only agents employed by the Begum in the ſecreting and depoſiting it; they previouſly pledging themſelves to be preſent when called upon, to anſwer to the accuſation which I have informed them was laid againſt them. In the meanwhile, the Begum has delivered over her Chelah Shumſheer Cawn, who was Phouſdar of Tanda when Captain Gordon arrived there; ſo that I now hope the whole buſineſs, upon which I came here, is in the moſt favourable train.

I have the honour to be,
With the greateſt reſpect,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient and
Moſt humble ſervant,
(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

Fayzabad,
20th January 1782.

True Copy,
Nath. Middleton.

Sir, Baugulpoor, 27th Jan. 1782.

I have received your letter of the 20th inſtant. I thank you for the good news which it contains, and for the proſpect which it has afforded me of a complete and proſperous termination of the meaſures impending.

I deſire that you will endeavour to diſſuade the Nabob from concluding any ſettlement with the Begums, until the Board, or myſelf, have been adviſed of the amount of the treaſure recovered from them, and of the balance due at the lateſt period from the Nabob to the Company.

I hope to receive from you a report of the final iſſue of this buſineſs, and of a ſum realized, and in your poſſeſſion, for our relief, in time to ſend advice of both by the packet now under diſpatch; and I ſhall keep it open until the 7th of next month, but no longer, for that purpoſe.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

True Copy,
Nath. Middleton.

To

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor-general, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

I have had this day the honour to receive your commands of the 25th ultimo; and am extremely concerned that the mode of conducting the Fayzabad buſineſs, as ſet forth in my addreſs of the 18th January, did not meet your entire approbation. Permit me to aſſure you, Sir, it is with the greateſt reluctance I ever venture to deviate from the expreſs letter of your inſtructions; and I cannot accuſe myſelf of having done it on any occaſion where it did not appear to my judgment, that the object and ſpirit of them rendered it adviſeable, and that the apparent neceſſity would juſtify ſuch latitude.

In the preſent inſtance, it was more in appearance and expreſſion than in fact, that any deviation was made from your orders of the 26th December; for although I was conſtrained, from ſtrict regard to the accompliſhment of what I conſidered the firſt object of this undertaking, to admit of a temporary forbearance, for the reaſons aſſigned in my addreſs of the 18th ultimo, the Begums were at that time to be conſidered as entirely at the mercy of the Nabob; their Jagheers were in poſſeſſion of his Aumils; their troops diſperſed at the Kella of Fayzabad, which included alſo the Bhow Begum's own habitation, under the guard of his Excellency's and our troops.

It remained only to get poſſeſſion of her wealth; and to effect this it was then, and is ſtill, my unalterable opinion, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to employ temporizing expedients, and to work upon the hopes and fears of the Begum herſelf, and more eſpecially upon thoſe of her principal agents, through whoſe means alone there appeared any probable chance of our getting acceſs to the hidden treaſures of the late Vizier: and when I acquaint you, that by far the greateſt part of the treaſure which has been delivered to the Nabob was taken from the moſt ſecret receſſes in the houſes of the two Eunuchs, whence, of courſe, it could not have been extracted, without the adoption of thoſe means which could induce the diſcovery, I ſhall hope for your approbation of what I did. I muſt alſo obſerve, that no further rigour than that which I exerted, could have been uſed againſt females in this country, to whom there can be no acceſs. The Nabob and Salar Jung were the only two who could enter the Zananah. The firſt was a ſon, who was to addreſs a parent, and of courſe could uſe no language or action but that of earneſt and reiterated ſolicitation; and the other was in all appearance a traitor to our cauſe. Where force could be employed, it was not ſpared. Th

troops of the Begum were driven away and diſperſed; their guns taken; her fort, and the outward walls of her houſe, ſeized and occupied by our troops, at the Nabob's requiſition, and her chief agents impriſoned and put in irons. No further ſtep was left; and in this ſituation they ſtill remain, and are to continue (excepting only the remiſſion of the irons) until the final liquidation of the payment; and if then you deem it proper, no poſſible means of offence being left in her hands, or thoſe of her agents, all her lands and property having been taken, I mean, with your ſanction, to reſtore her houſe and ſervants to her; and hope to be favoured with your early reply, as I expect that a few days will complete the final ſurrender of all that is further expected from the Begum.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow, 5th Feb. 1782. NATH. MIDDLETON. Reſident at the Court of the Vizier.

Liſt of Mr. Middleton's Public Correſpondence with the Honourable Board, from the Period of ſigning the Treaty of Chunar to the 23d of October 1782, *when he delivered over the Reſidency to Mr. Briſtow.*

Of date			
17th	Oct.	1781.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
20	Do.	1781.	To Do. Do.
20			
20	Do.	1781.	To the Honourable Board.
23	Do.	1781.	Do. Do.
28	Do.	1781.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
29	Do.	1781.	To the Honourable Board.
30	Do.	1781.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
2	Nov.	1781.	Do. Do.
14	Do.	1781.	Do. Do.
4	Dec.	1781.	Do. Do.
12	Do.	1781.	Do. Do.
17	Do.	1781.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
19	Do.	1781.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
22	Do.	1781.	Do. Do.
24	Do.	1781.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
27	Do.	1781.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
30	Do.	1781.	Do. Do.
30			

Of

Of date			
3	Jan.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
10	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
13	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
15	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
18	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
20	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
25	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
27	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
3	Feb.	1782.	Do. Do.
5	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
5			
6	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
7	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
8	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
10	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
11	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
11			
	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
16	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
21	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
21			
24	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
6	Mar.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
10	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
11	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
14	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
16	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
20	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
21	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
22	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
25	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
27	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
3	Apr.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
7	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
8	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
9	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
10	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
10	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
12	Do.	1782.	To the Secretary to the Honourable the Governor-general and Council.

Of date			
12	Apr.	1782.	To the private Persian Interpreter to the Honourable Governor-general.
15	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
26	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
9	May	1782.	Do. Do.
9	Do.		
10	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
10			
12	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
17	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
21	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
21	Do.	1782.	Do. &c. Members of the Supreme Council.
24	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
27	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
4	June	1782.	Do. Do.
18	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general, &c. Members of the Supreme Council.
18	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
15	July	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
17	Aug.	1782.	Do. Do.
2	Sept.	1782.	To the Secretary to the Honourable the Governor-general and Council.
7	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
7	Do.	1782.	Do. &c. the Members of the Supreme Council.
9	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
12	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
14	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
15	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
16	Do.	1782.	To the Secretary to the Honourable the Governor-general and Council.
16	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
16	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
16	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
16	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
17	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
17	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.

Of date			
18	Sept.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
19	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
20	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
20			
22	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
3	Oct.	1782.	To the Secretary to the Honourable the Board of Inſpection.
8	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
15	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
22	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
22	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices, &c.
23	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Governor-general, &c. the Members of the Supreme Council.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

To the Honourable Board. C.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I have this day received confirmed information of the death of the Nabob Nudjiff Cawn. My opinion upon this ſubject I had the honour to ſubmit to the Governor-general under date 24th February laſt, upon a premature information of the deceaſe of that Nabob, which hitherto I find no reaſon to alter; I therefore beg leave to refer your honourable Board to that, as containing every ſentiment or information that I can at preſent offer upon the ſubject.

The Nabob Vizier ſeems to think it probable, or poſſible, that Mahadajee Scindia may be induced, either at the inſtigation of his own ambition, or at the king's ſolicitation, to proceed to Delhi upon this conjecture; his alarms and apprehenſions upon this head, he ſtates in his letter of this day's date to the Governor-general; and in order to prevent the only one of the two afore-mentioned inducements which lays within his reach to attempt, he has written an Arzee to the King, aſſuring him of his attachment to his intereſt, declaring himſelf ready to march with his forces to ſupport his views, and mentioning your government as equally well diſpoſed to his majeſty, and finally recommending to him to call in no other foreign aid. He has alſo written letters of condolence to the late Nabob's family, and others of encouragement to the principal commanders of his armies, adviſing them to continue firm in their duty and allegiance to the king, whom he tells them he is marching to Delhi to ſupport. Moſt of theſe chiefs were formerly the ſer-

vants of this court, and many of them connected by blood with the Vizier's family. His Excellency has alſo made an application to Colonel Morgan to move the ſubſidiary brigade towards Etawa, to be in readineſs to act in caſe any emergency ſhould require it. I have ſent his Excellency's application to the Colonel, but have only recommended his holding the brigade in readineſs to march to that central ſtation, either upon the receipt of your orders to this effect, or ſome intermediate urgent neceſſity occurring, which may preclude the propriety of making any delay whatever. This will, I hope, meet your approbation.

I have the honour to be,
With the greateſt reſpect,
Honourable Sir, and Sirs,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble ſervant,
(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

Lucknow,
10th April 1782.

To the Honourable Board. E.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

The contentions and party diſputes which have prevailed at the court of Delhi ſince the death of the late Nabob Nudjiff Cawn, ſeem now to be taking a decided turn in favour of Mirza Shuffer Cawn, whoſe pretenſions to the chief rule in the adminiſtration, although acknowledged and ſecretly eſpouſed by the King, have hitherto met with violent and ſucceſsful oppoſition from Affraſiab Cawn; but the latter having a few days ago found it expedient to move with the main body of his army acroſs the Jumna, for the defence of his own poſſeſſions againſt the threatened attacks of Mahomed Beg Cawn Amdâny, who is joined with the oppoſite party; Mirza Shuffer availed himſelf of this conjuncture, to attempt by force the effectual eſtabliſhment of his authority at the capital; accordingly, on the 11th inſtant, he marched his whole army into the town, ſeized upon the principal gates and avenues, ſurrounded the houſes of Mudjud al Dowla, the Dewan Nudjiff Cooly Cawn, and Luttauſt Ally Cawn, all of whom were united in the combination againſt him, and ſecured the perſon of the former, as he has alſo, probably, by this time that of Nudjiff Cooly Cawn, who had, when my laſt intelligence was diſpatched, loſt all his artillery, ſeveral of his principal Sirdars, and was reduced, as a laſt reſource, to the neceſſity of defending himſelf with muſquetry only, within the walls of his private habitation. The capture of his perſon will leave Mirza Shuffer Cawn without any competitor upon

upon the ſpot capable of oppoſing him, and enable him immediately to turn his whole force, in conjunction with Mahomed Beg Cawn, againſt Affraſaib and his party, with the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs.

There can, I apprehend, be no doubt but his Majeſty, upon this turn of affairs, will cheerfully and openly acquieſce in the demands of Mirza Shuffer Cawn, which it appears have never extended beyond the inveſtiture of ſuch offices as he is univerſally allowed to have had an indiſputable claim to, upon the death of Nudjiff Cawn; and he is a perſon attached, both from ties of conſanguinity and inclination, of the Vizier's government, as well as the firſt in rank and credit among the remaining chiefs of the empire. I preſume the honourable Board will conſider his riſing influence as a favourable incident to the political intereſts of the Company; being well aſſured that the ſmalleſt encouragement given to this chief, were it to conſiſt only in an acknowledgment of his title to the aſcendancy he has acquired, with the bare name of our ſupport, would ſecure his attachment to the mutual intereſts of our own and the Vizier's government; and render him not only a powerful barrier to theſe provinces, but a moſt uſeful partizan, ſhould motives of neceſſity or expedience at any future period induce your honourable Board to extend your views beyond the limits to which they are at preſent confined.

I have the honour to be,
With the greateſt reſpect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble ſervant,
(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

Lucknow,
14th Sept. 1782.

Extract of Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Honourable Board; dated Lucknow, the 17*th September* 1782.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Conformably to the ſpirit of the inſtructions given to me for my guidance by the Honourable the Governor-general, upon the concluſion of his agreement with the Nabob Vizier at Chunar, I have the honour to inform you with his Excellency's concurrence. I have ſtationed in each Aumildary throughout theſe provinces an agent of my own nomination, in the capacity of Daroga Taſſuah, or Muſter-maſter to the Mooteyna troops, whoſe duty it is to muſter and tranſmit to my office, regular monthly returns of thoſe eſtabliſhments; and upon whoſe report and ſignature alone their pay is to be iſſued. This meaſure will eſtabliſh a neceſſary check upon the conduct of

of the Aumils, and effectually obviate thoſe abuſes and miſapplications conſequent to the former irregular mode of conducting this branch of expence. I could not with propriety have taken ſo deciſive a line in this buſineſs at an earlier period, as the Nabob and miniſters, returning to the capital ſo late as the month of October, found themſelves obliged to continue the Aumils already in employ in their reſpective truſts, or riſk, by new appointments at that advanced ſeaſon, the loſs of the whole collections on the Khereif or firſt crop, which amount to two fifths of the annual revenue, and the ſame circumſtance involved the neceſſity of leaving their agreements nearly in the form in which they ſtood the preceding year. Hence it became difficult and dangerous to take any immediate ſteps for the introduction of the Governor-general's arrangements, beyond laying the foundations of a future reform, which was duly attended to; and theſe I can now ſecurely build upon, as by availing myſelf of this early period, every Aumil is previouſly appriſed of the terms on which he embarks, and ſtands without excuſe for any failure in his engagements. I ſhall have the ſatisfaction of laying before you very ſhortly as correct a return of the troops actually employed, as it may be poſſible to make, after curtailing numbers every where, as far as it can be done conſiſtently with the ſecurity of the collections; and out of the ſavings, which I am confident of immediately producing, I have ſtipulated with the miniſter for the maintenance of four complete regiments of the honourable Company's troops, at the rate of 25,000 rupees per month each, as eſtabliſhed by the Chunar treaty. Should this meaſure meet your approbation, and it be ſuitable to your views to enlarge the plan, I have no doubt of being able, by degrees, to introduce as many more regiments as you may wiſh to have employed in lieu of the government troops now maintained for the ſervice.

I have the further ſatisfaction to inform your honourable Board, that I have at length prevailed on the Nabob Vizier to carry into effectual execution the meaſure recommended by the honourable the Governor-general, for the inſtitution of courts of Adawlut, under proper regulations, throughout his dominions. Molovy Mowbean, a very reſpectable, learned, and diſtinguiſhed man of the law, has been appointed Sudder ul Huck, and a deputy on his behalf is going out with each Aumil, accompanied with a proper and competent eſtabliſhment for the due adminiſtration of juſtice, independently of the Phouſdars and collectors. This meaſure will alſo, I flatter myſelf, meet with your approbation.

It

It is incumbent upon me to inform you of the improper conduct of Fyzulee Cawn, who for ſome time paſt has been carrying on a conſtant correſpondence with the Rohilla chiefs, and maintains diſcourſes in his public Durbar of a very contrary tendency to the line of his duty, and profeſſed allegiance to the Vizier.

It is not very likely he would be able to effect any thing that could materially endanger theſe provinces, yet it muſt be obſerved, that any attempt, however unſucceſsful to himſelf, would to a certainty occaſion a very heavy loſs in the Vizier's collections. An advantage gained by his troops in a late unfortunate diſpute with two of the Vizier's battalions at Darrangur, has had the natural effect of exciting inſolence and temerity, and make it now not very eaſy for that chief, were he ſo reclined, to repreſs the turbulent ſpirit of his followers.

By the 3d article of the treaty concluded between the honourable the Governor-general and the Vizier at Chunar, his Excellency is impowered to place Fyzula Cawn upon the ſame footing with the other Jaghardars, giving him his allowances in money inſtead of lands. But the honourable the Governor-general, though acceding to the Nabob's propoſal, deeming it unadviſeable that the meaſure ſhould be attempted in the then ſituation of this government, and during the active ſcene which occupied the Company's troops, I in conſequence prevailed on the Nabob to ſuſpend it until a more convenient opportunity might offer. Theſe objections to the meaſure being now, I conceive, removed, and this being the only Jagheer exiſting under the Vizier's government, I would, if the honourable board are pleaſed to approve, venture to adviſe the reſumption of it, as ſoon as the ceſſation of the rains will permit. For this it will be neceſſary the Nabob ſhould obtain not only your previous ſanction, but aſſurance of your ſupport, in caſe, which I think very probable, his own ſtrength ſhould be found unequal to the undertaking.

The poſſeſſions of Fayzula Cawn are ſo ſituated, that there is no poſſibility of cutting off his retreat, whenever he might chuſe to attempt it; and ſhould ever it ſo happen, the great extra collections he has for ſome years paſt made beyond the amount for which the Jagheer was originally granted, now ſuppoſed to be accumulated to one crore and an half of rupees, muſt prove a total and imparable loſs to this country: it ſeems therefore worthy the intention of your honourable Board, to co-operate with the Vizier in ſuch meaſures as may be moſt effectual in obviating the miſchiefs which his Excellency juſtly apprehends from leaving Fayzula Cawn in his preſent unre-

unreſtricted ſituation, eſpecially as the propoſed change cannot, in my conception, be conſidered as any actual innovation on the rights of that chief's treaty with the late Vizier, which ſecure to him an annual income of fifteen lacks, and this the Nabob by no means deſigns to deprive him of, but wiſhes to pay it in money, inſtead of allowing him to collect above thrice that ſum from lands, by means which drain the other parts of Rohilchund of their Recates and revenues, and enable him to maintain a large force ready upon all occaſions to join any internal or foreign enemy, which might in oppoſition to his Excellency's government; and there can be no doubt but Zabilly Cawn, with whom he is cloſely connected, and keeps up a conſtant intercourſe, would ſeize any opening which might yield him the fainteſt hopes of recovering his hereditary poſſeſſion in Rohilcund.

Extracts of Letters from the Resident at Oude to the Governor-general and Council, respecting the Conduct of Fayzula Cawn.

Extract, dated 27th December 1781.

"I must alſo take the liberty to add my opinion, that "unleſs Fazula Cawn, remotely ſituated as he is, out of "reach of interruption, in the center of his own tribe "and country, connected uninterruptedly with the other "two remaining Patan powers, becomes included in this "general reform of the Jagheers, or ſome effectual check "impoſed upon him, the whole may prove abortive; "while, if truly enforced, may ſave this country, and "with it poſſibly much of our own blood and treaſure."

Extract of Ditto, dated the 24th February 1782.

"In ſuch an event, I ſhould think it very probable he "would be joined by Fyzoola Cawn, who, there is ſtrong "reaſon to believe, is by no means well affected to the "Vizier's government, and who has of late made ſuch "preparations, and ſuch a diſpoſition of his family and "wealth, as evidently manifeſt either an intended or ex-"pected rupture."

Extract of Ditto, dated the 25th March 1782.

"The third Article, which includes the Jaguire of Fy-"zulla Cawn among the reſt, has hitherto been deferred "by the poſtſcript to your general inſtructions, which

"forbids

" forbids it until circumſtances may render it more expe-
" dient and eaſy to be attempted than the preſent more
" material purſuits of government make it appear. How-
" ever, I beg leave to repeat, that a ſtipend or allowance
" in ready money to that chief, in lieu of his Jaguire
" lands, ſituated and peopled, as they are, by his own
" tribe, in vicinity to three capital territories of the ſame
" caſt, would be far more conducive to the intereſts and
" ſecurity of this government; and as ſuch, permit me
" to recommend to your conſideration."

Extract of Ditto, dated the 15th April 1782.

" Zabitta Khan, at Ghous Gheer, is arming and en-
" tering into alliances with the Secks. The Nabob Fy-
" zala Cawn, from the beſt intelligence I am able to
" procure, carries on a cloſe and ſecret correſpondence
" with him; he is gone ſo far as to throw out ſome very
" inflammatory diſcourſes in his Durbar; and by this
" day's intelligence it appears, that ſome uſual reſtraints
" have been impoſed on my agent, who hitherto had free
" acceſs at his Durbar, to ſend intelligence of what paſſed
" there. I ſhall be very watchful of his conduct and
" motions, and not fail to give your honourable Board
" regular information of every thing that I may think
" worth your notice. I have the honour to be, with the
" greateſt reſpect."

True extracts
(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON

Extracts of Mr. Johnſon's Defence.

3d Charge, Conſ. 7th September 1782.

Major Palmer's Letter.

FOR ſending repeatedly to the Vizier and to his Miniſter Hyder Beg Khân, to adviſe them againſt tranſferring the 10 lacks of rupees, intended as a preſent to the Governor-general, to the Company's account, as it would be a precedent for further demands, which if the Vizier did not reſiſt in the firſt inſtance, this government would never ceaſe to harraſs him for money.

ANSWER.

This extract, and the matter of the remaining charges, are not in the copy of the proceedings of the 7th September, ſent to me in December laſt; I am not the leſs ready to meet them here.

The act of intention, as far as I ſhould limit them, in admitting myſelf the cauſe of preventing the 10 lacks mentioned from being *at that time* paid to the Company are true. The reaſons aſſigned

60 A loan
12 for four additional regiments
10 the ſum in this charge.
—
Total 82
—

aſſigned for ſuch prevention "leſt the Nabob ſhould be "again harraſſed, &c." are the Miniſter's own words and objections made to me, transferred into my mouth. The mode alſo by meſſage is likewiſe miſrepreſented, but that is immaterial; ſuffice it for me to explain the act: I acknowledge 50 lacks were due in balance: all the Nabob's reſources not promiſing to prove equal to diſcharge this balance, a new claim was at this ſame inſtant made of 82 lacks: the reſources in my hands the ſole funds exiſting to anſwer both; the means unequal to this end—the queſtion remained, which of the two claims, the new or the old, ſhould be firſt paid? I did not heſitate one inſtant to declare, that if any of the Aſſets placed in my hands ſhould be attempted to be eſtranged from the purpoſes for which they were aſſigned, I ſhould declare it a breach of treaty. They were to diſcharge the balances of years. The ſole object of the late treaty, and all the meaſures connected with it, had this ſingle point for their end:—could I, deeply pledged for the fulfilment of this treaty, ſubſcribe to the total ſubverſion of theſe meaſures, at the very moment of their completion in the termination of the year preſcribed and allotted for their operation? I could not; I ought not. Therefore I thus obſtructed the whole, of courſe the parts

parts of that whole, for the reaſons above aſſigned, and no other whatever. Whether ſuch preference, ſo given to a previous claim, was criminal or meritorious, reſts with the honourable Board to declare, when they recollect that retarding neither expunges or diminiſhes a claim. Permit me here to ſubjoin, had the 10 lacks been uninvolved with the 72, or had the aggregate ſum not been required within the period left for liquidating the balances intruſted to me, or had not the Aſſets lodged in my hands for this purpoſe been the ſole funds from which ſuch payment could be attempted, ſo far from impeding even for a moment ſuch a claim, I ſhould have been the firſt to ſupport and urge it to its completion.

* * * * * * * * *

5th CHARGE.

For further neglect of duty, in not having written a ſingle letter to this government, during the abſence of Mr. Middleton from his ſtation at Lucknow, to report the ſtate of the provinces, or of the Vizier's dominions, or to mention any one occurrence of thoſe parts notwithſtanding the important events which took place during that interval, from the contentions which enſued upon the deceaſe of Nudjiff Cawn, and the diſturbances in the Vizier's country; from the defection and flight of Al-

ANSWER.

Mr. Middleton left Lucknow the 18th June, and returned the laſt of Auguſt. The duty he intruſted to me was limited and reſtricted to cloſing the balances. In which he requeſted Major Palmer, to whom he made over the political department, to aſſiſt me with his ſupport, if I called for it. The line was ſpecially drawn. The political information of courſe reſted with the political agent. He attended the Durbar, where my buſineſs never called me. In my line nothing new or remarkable occurred during the

mas Ally Cawn, one of his principal Zemindars with a conſiderable treaſure and force; from the refractorineſs and diſobedience of other Zemindars; and from other cauſes, which the Board have ſince been informed of; and for not mentioning the diſaſterwhich happened to two battalions of the Vizier's troops at Daranagur, all which the Board obtained no knowledge of, but from private information.

the period above mentioned. The death of Nudjiff Cawn, with all its conſequences actual and probable, had been fully laid before the Board; and the Governor-general, in the Reſident's letters of the 9th 10th April to the Governor, the ſame date and 15th to the Council, and again in ſeveral letters immediately after his return upon reſuming the reſpective charges intruſted to Major Palmer and me. With reſpect to the Vizier's dominions, nothing new happened in the conſtantly turbulent ſtate of the Zemindars of a country where the rents are collected at the point of the ſword. Many rumours were ſpread of the intended diſaffection and flight of Almas Ali Khân. The Reſident immediatly after his return, informed the Governor-general (date 7th September) that he had aſcertained them to be groundleſs reports. While I was acting, during which time the rumour firſt began, I had always an agent with him. His chief manager and moſt confidential agent was always with me, and with the Miniſter; who likewiſe had an agent conſtantly with Almaſs. The Miniſter's intelligence uniformly agreed with mine. I never loſt an opportunity to compare them; and neither of us, I will confirm by oath, ever believed him beyond the Nabob's limits. What I offer to confirm and atteſt,

in

is my own belief, with the Miniſter's conſonant declarations made to me; and I truſt, that the united teſtimony of Mr. Middleton, the Miniſter, and myſelf, will be received by the Board, as equal, if not ſuperior in weight, to that of others, who cannot have had channels of information ſo much to be depended upon as thoſe I have ſtated. However, my belief, well or ill grounded, being what I have ſtated, I could not have informed the honourable Board of an act I diſcredited.

* * * * * * * * * *

But ere I can call for their deciſion, I muſt proceed to explain a point with which I am not charged, but with which I muſt now charge myſelf, as I find it ſolely laid to Mr. Middleton. He is accuſed with anticipating the revenues, and loading them with an uſurious intereſt upon an advance made to him, and brought to credit in his account. This crime originated with me. He only ſanctified it by his authority. The greater ſhare, if not the whole of the blame it may incur, muſt therefore reſt on me. The total ſum conſiſted of two parts, nearly halves, 25 lacks each; one was a negociation of the balances due from the different Aumils, agitated and ſettled by the Miniſter himſelf; the other, an anticipation of rents aſſigned to pay a banker for the advance he made of the amount required and negociated. The charge is or ſhould be therefore confined to this laſt. The whole tranſaction will of courſe be fully ſtated by Mr. Middleton, as it ſtands included in his charges. All that I here mean to explain is, that the rents anticipated by aſſignment to the banker, in other words, the funds upon which the advance was made, were not the rents of lands upon which the Company had ever received their aſſignments, or which had ever ſupplied the Nabob's treaſury and wants, but the reſumed rents of rebellious and other Jaguerdars (chiefly Letafuts, Begums, and Salar Jungs) forming an entire new fund, now, and never before, brought into the Nabob's and Company's coffers by this plan; it became therefore in ſo much a net gain to the Nabob. The plan, in other reſpects, had it met with encouragement,

opened a new channel of reſource upon emergent occaſions to the Nabob and the Company. The Bankers, properly noticed and rewarded for an advance of 50 lacks (an inſtance I believe never before equalled) would have been ready upon a repetition of the call. The intereſt termed Uſury by the Board was the uſual intereſt of the country where the loan was made. The eſtabliſhed intereſt of a country is no uſury in that country, whatever it may be deemed in others. But had the intereſt been uſurious or high, the Nabob paid it, not from his own reſources, deficiencies in which could afterwards be felt by his allies, but from new funds. He would gladly have paid it from his own, to anſwer the great purpoſes effected by it. It enabled him to fulfil a treaty, a treaty of the higheſt concern to him; a treaty for the performance of which himſelf, his Miniſter, and the Reſident, ſtood pledged—the completion of which compriſed a great benefit to the Company. They were in want of money—the treaty was calculated to anſwer this want, and this plan to fulfil the treaty; therefore, had even the Nabob's own uſual reſources, or even thoſe uſually aſſigned to the Company, been in reality anticipated, ſuch anticipation would have been an advantage to the Company, by an advanced payment, and not a *detriment* or injury, upon which alone the diſapprobation of the Board can be grounded. I therefore now hope that this explanation will induce the approbation inſtead of cenſure of the Board upon this meaſure.

(Signed) R. JOHNSON.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, 21ſt October 1783.

THE Governor-general delivers in the following minute on Mr. Middleton's defence.

I have not time to examine Mr. Middleton's defence on the charges againſt him. My letters, which were written to him on the different occaſions which drew on him the declarations of my diſſatisfaction with his conduct, and his in reply, ought to be read with his defence, and will afford both equally the ſtrongeſt evidence againſt him. His defence appears to me rather an eluſion of the charges than an anſwer to them. This obſervation will particularly apply to the 5th Article, and his reply. I was pointed in my orders to Mr. Middleton, that he ſhould not allow any negociation or forbearance, when he had once employed the Company's influence or power in aſſerting the Nabob's claims on the Begums for the recovery of his father's treaſures. My principal, if not ſole inducement for this order, which, with the inſtructions

tions following it, was as abſolute as it could be expreſſed, was to prevent the imputation, which is too frequently, with whatever colour of reaſon, caſt on tranſactions of this nature, begun with demands of ſums of money to an enormous amount, ſupported with a great military parade, and denunciations of vengeance for a refuſal, and all relenting into the acceptance of perſonal ſubmiſſion and promiſe of amendment: In plainer words, I did not chooſe to be made the inſtrument of private rapacity, if any ſuch deſign exiſted; nor to expoſe myſelf to the obloquy of it, if ſuch a deſign did not exiſt. My order was abſolute, and allowed of no reaſoning upon it. It required a rigid and ſcrupulous obedience; and Mr. Middleton, without ſcruple or heſitation, and even without a reaſon aſſigned, diſobeyed it.—I perceive that Mr. Middleton has alluded, as Mr. Johnſon has alſo done, to certain unexplained claims made on the Nabob Vizier by Mr. Palmer, amounting to 82 lacks of rupees: as neither explain them, but ſpeak of them as points of undoubted credit, I think it proper to declare my doubt and diſbelief of them, and to aſſign my reaſons, as far as I I can in remote recollection of the little which I have ever known concerning them. Ten lacks of this ſum have been explained by me to relate to a proviſion to that amount actually made, and, as I have ever underſtood, delivered to the Reſident for its deſtined appropriation.

Fifty lacks are ſtated by Mr. Johnſon as a loan propoſed to be received from the Nabob. Major Palmer had no orders from me to exact ſuch a contribution from the Nabob. It was the general belief that Hyder Beg Cawn and Almas Ally Cawn poſſeſſed much private wealth: and as the means of ſecuring private wealth in India conſiſt only in two very hazardous expedients—Firſt, by depoſiting it with ſhroffs or bankers, who may fail, or refuſe to return the truſt; and ſecondly, by burying it in the bowels of the earth, from whence it never returns to its proprietors—I deſired Major Palmer to explain to both the nature and currency of the Company's intereſt notes, and perſuade them to inveſt their money in thoſe better ſecurities. I have a very faint recollection of ſomething like a propoſal to unite the Nabob's name in the tranſaction; but it ended without effect, nor could it at any time have been conſidered as a ſpecific demand. The remaining twenty or twenty-two lacks was, as I believe, the eſtimated expence of an eſtabliſhment of Sepoys, propoſed to be raiſed for the purpoſe of defending the Nabob's internal dominions, but neither was this, or could it, be a ſpecific demand, for I diſcouraged it as

ſoon as it was made known to me, and it went no further than mere ſpeculation.

As Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon have ſwelled the amount of the current demands, by an exceſs of 82,00,000 rupees, ſo has Mr. Middleton added to his receipts 26 lacks which do not belong to them, being an anticipation of the revenue of the ſucceeding year. I am unable to proceed further in my remarks: but I muſt formally declare, that Mr. Middleton is, in my judgment, guilty of all the charges which have been preferred againſt him.

The Governor-general delivers in the following obſervations on Mr. Johnſon's defence.

Mr. Johnſon had no authority to recommend the perſons for appointments to the office of Aumils; my inſtructions, which he quotes, allow him only a negative power, and was well underſtood by Mr. Johnſon to apply to the Nabob's orderlies, a mean and wretched crew, whom his diſgraceful partiality had admitted to ſuch truſts. Mr. Johnſon, by acknowledging that he did recommend perſons for ſuch appointments, and that he ſupported his recommendations by urgent and reiterated importunity, proves the ſubſtantial part of theſe charges againſt himſelf.

3d.—I am morally certain that Zaidads or Aſſets for 10 lacks, either in aſſignments of land or in bills, had been prepared, and were in the charge or poſſeſſion of Mr. Middleton before Major Palmer's arrival, and left with Mr. Johnſon on Mr. Middleton's departure. This ſum was declaredly given for my uſe, but never accepted by me; the only advantage I made of the offer was to requeſt the Nabob to transfer it, with the obligation ſtill reſting with equal weight upon my gratitude for the original deſtination of it, to the Company, for the relief of their preſſing neceſſities. The rectitude of this tranſaction depends eſſentially upon principles which every man feels and acknowledges in his own breaſt, but can hardly be judged by the teſt of any official rule; it might indeed have added to the Company's claims on the Nabob; but I am not ſorry that Mr. Johnſon choſe to defeat my intentions, ſince it would have added to the Nabob's diſtreſſes, but with no immediate relief to the Company. If in his own breaſt he can view the ſecret motives of this tranſaction, and on their teſtimony approve, I alſo acquit him, as I do acquit him of the charge on public ground.

Mr.

Mr. Johnſon having involved this ſubject with other pretended claims, which I believe to be miſrepreſented, I cannot reply to them with a certain knowledge. This can only be obtained from Major Palmer, but their object is not worth the trouble or delay of ſuch a reference.

4th.—The fourth charge is proved by the known ſtate of the country, the diſſenſions that prevailed between Mr. Johnſon and the Nabob Vizier, and by the total neglect of all communication from Mr. Johnſon with this government during the period of his charge.

5th.—The defeat and diſperſion of two of the Nabob Vizier's battalions, which Mr. Johnſon acknowledges, but calls a fray; the notoriety of Almaſs's defection; the inſolence of the treaty concluded by him with his maſter; the fears expreſſed by Mr. Anderſon for the iſſue of his negociations, leſt they ſhould be impeded by the diſtracted ſtate of the Nabob Vizier's dominions, and the lengthened hoſtilities with the rebel Bulbudder, which have but recently ſubſided with his death, are all proofs of the truth of this charge. Of the inſtructions left by Mr. Middleton to Major Palmer, inveſting him with the political agency, I never knew, nor do I believe Major Palmer accepted ſuch a truſt, if ſuch a truſt was ever offered.

6th.—I cannot examine this charge in its full extent by the military returns. He ſays, he obtained two battalions from the ſtation of Cawnpore to oppoſe the rebellion of Bulbudder: but he never apprized the Board of this, and my orders were moſt peremptory and explicit upon this ſubject. It matters not that the terms of the charge reſtrict it to the brigade of Cawnpore. His diſobedience is equal, from whatever command the detachment was withdrawn.

7th.—Of this charge Mr. Johnſon is clearly acquitted upon the whole:—Though I have ſtrictly delivered my opinion on Mr. Johnſon's defence, I muſt add, that I think he has been ſufficiently puniſhed by the deprivation of his office, and by the ſeverity with which it was immediately effected.—"Not to be worſt ſtands in ſome "rank of praiſe."—His faults ſink to mere errors and inadvertencies, when compared with thoſe of his principal, and are wholly loſt in the contraſt with thoſe of the preſent Reſident.

* * * * * * * * * * *

* * * * * *

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton.

Sir,

I am directed by the honourable the Governor-general and Council to acquaint you, that they have attentively read your anſwer to the charges prepared againſt you, and that they are of opinion you have by no means acquitted yourſelf of the facts alledged therein; but as the whole will be in reference before the honourable the Court of Directors, they leave it to them to decide finally upon your conduct.

Fort William, 21ſt October. I am, &c.

Approved, The Governor General.
Approved, M'P.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Extract of General Letter from Bengal; dated 30th December 1783.

Par. 6. Mr. Nathaniel Middleton has requeſted to be mentioned to you reſpecting his conduct and ſervices previous to his removal from Oude; and the Governor-general having given in a minute conveying his approbation of both to that period, we beg leave to refer you to it, and to add our favourable opinion of his abilities and temper.

Two Letters from the Nabob Vizier.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 15th of February 1781.

THE Governor-general lays before the Board the following letter from the Nabob Vizier.

From the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah: Received 1ſt Feb. 1781.

All the officers ſtationed with the brigade at Cawnpore, Futty Ghurr, Darunghur, and Furruckabad, and other places, write Perwannahs, and give poſitive orders to the Aumils of all theſe places reſpecting the grain, and from which conduct the whole country will become depopulated. I am hopeful from your friendſhip that you will write to all theſe gentlemen not to iſſue orders, &c. to the Aumils, and not to ſend troops into the Mahals of the Sirkar; and for whatever quantity of grain, &c. they may

may want, they will inform me and the Reſident, and we will write it to the Aumils, who ſhall cauſe it to be ſent them every month, and I will deduct the price of them from the Tuncahs; this will be agreeable both to me and the Ryotts.

From the Nabob Vizier to Rajah Gobind Ram.

I ſome time ago wrote you the particulars of the conduct of the officers, and now write them again. The officers and gentlemen who are at Cawnpore, Futty Ghurr, and Darunghur, and other places, by different means act very tyrannically and oppreſſively towards the Aumils and Ryotts, and inhabitants; and to thoſe who require a Duſtuck, they give it with their own ſeals affixed, and ſend for the Aumils, and puniſh them, if they ſay any thing; the gentlemen make uſe of but two words—One that is for the brigade; and the ſecond that is to adminiſter juſtice. The particulars of it are theſe, that the Bepparies will bring their grain from all quarters, and ſell for their livelihood. There is at preſent no war to occaſion a neceſſity for ſending for it. If none comes, whatever quantity will be neceſſary every month, I will mention to the Aumils, that they may bring it for ſale; but there is no deficiency of grain. The gentlemen have eſtabliſhed Gunges for their own advantage, called Colonel Gunge, at Daranghur, Fut Ghurr, &c. The collections of the cuſtoms from all quarters they have ſtopped, and collect them at their own Gunges; each Gunge is rented out at 30,000 or 40,000 rupees, and the collections paid to the gentlemen; they have eſtabliſhed Gunges where there never were any, and where there were, thoſe they have aboliſhed. 30,000 or 40,000 rupees is the ſum they are rented at; the collections, to the amount of a lack of rupees, are ſtopped. Major Briſcoe, who is at Daranghur, has eſtabliſhed a Gunge, which is rented out for 45,000 rupees, and has ſtopped the Gauts round about the Bipparies; and merchants coming from Caſhmere, from Sehanabad, and bringing Shawls, and other goods and ſpices, &c. from all quarters, he orders to his Gunge, and collects the duties from the Aumils, gives them a chit and a guard, who conducts theſe about 500 coſs. The former duties are not collected. From this conduct at Cawnpore, Futty Ghur, Furrikabad, &c. the duties from the Zilla of Gora and Itchawa are deſtroyed, and occaſions a loſs of three lacks of rupees; and the loſſes which are ſuſtained in Furrukabad may be aſcertained by the Nabob Mozutter Jung, to whom complaints are every day made: excluſive of the Aumils and

collectors, others lodge complaints. Whatever I do, I desire no benefit from it. I am remedileſs, and ſilent from what happens to me. I know that worſe will happen in other places. The ſecond word I know is from their mouth only: this is the caſe. In this country formerly, and even now, whatever is to be received or paid among the Zemindars, Ryotts, and inhabitants of the cities, and poor people, neither thoſe who can pay, or thoſe who cannot, ever make any excuſe to the Shroffs; but when they would pay, they did. In old debts of fifty years, whoever complain to the gentlemen, they agree that they ſhall pay ¼, and ſend Duſtucks and Sepoys to all the Aumils, the Chowdries, and Canoonges, and inhabitants of all the towns; they ſend for every body to do them juſtice, confine them, and ſay they will ſettle the buſineſs. So many and numerous are theſe caſualties, that I know not how much room it will take up to mention them. Mr. Briſcoe is at Darunghur, and the complaints of the Aumils arrive daily. I am ſilent now Mr. Middleton is coming here; let the Nabob appoint him for the ſettling all thoſe affairs, that whatever he ſhall order thoſe gentlemen, they will do. From this every thing will be ſettled, and the particulars of this quarter will be made known to the Nabob. I have written this, which you will deliver to the Governor, that every thing may be ſettled; and when he has underſtood it, whatever is his inclination, he will favour me with it. The Nabob is maſter in this country, and is my friend—there is no diſtinction.

Written the 12th Zekaida.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 4th June 1781.

Extract of Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Middleton.

I HAVE received your letter requeſting leave for a battalion to be raiſed by Captain Clarke, on the ſame footing as Major Oſborne's was, agreeable to the requeſts and complaints of Iſmael Beg, the Aumil of Illahabad, and in compliance with the directors of the council. You are well acquainted with the particulars and negociation of Iſhmael Beg's, and the nature of Mr. Oſborne's battalions. At the beginning of the year 1186 (1779) the affairs of Illahabad were given on a leaſe of 3 years to Iſhmael Beg, together with the Purgunnahs Arreel and Parra; and I gave orders for troops to be ſtationed and raiſed conformable to his requeſt. Iſmael Beg accordingly collected 1200 Peons, which were not allowed

allowed to the Aumil of that place in the year 1185. The reaſon why I gave permiſſion for the additional expence of 1200 Peons was, that he might be enabled to manage the country with eaſe, and pay the money to government regularly. I beſides ſent Mr. Oſborne there to command in the Mahals belonging to Illahabad, which were in the poſſeſſion of Rajah Ajeet Sing, and he accordingly took charge of Afterwards, in obedience to the orders of the Governor-general, Mr. Haſtings, Jelladut Jung, he was recalled, and the Mahals placed, as before, under Rajah Ajeet Sing. I never ſent Mr. Oſborne to ſettle the concerns of Illahabad, for there was no occaſion for him; but Mr. Oſborne of himſelf committed depredations and rapines within Iſhmael's Beg juriſdiction. Laſt year the battalion which, by the permiſſion of General Sir Eyre Coote, was ſent, received orders to ſecure and defend Iſhmael Beg againſt the encroachments of Mr. Oſborne; for the complaints of Iſhmael Beg againſt the violences of Mr. Oſborne had reached the General and Mr. Purling, and the Governor and gentlemen of Council, at my requeſt, recalled Mr. Oſborne. This year, as before, the collections of Areel and Parra remain under Iſhmael Beg. In thoſe places ſome of the Talookdars and Zemindars, who had been oppreſſed and ill-treated by Mr. Oſborne, had conceived ideas of rebellion. I therefore ſpoke to you, and wrote to Colonel Morgan, requeſting that a battalion might be ſent for a ſhort time; but on account of the actual ſtate of affairs, and in obedience to the orders of the Governor-general and Council, Colonel Morgan had collected his army in one ſtation, and could not detach a battalion.

Correspondence between Mr. Anderson and Mr. Bristow, relative to Mirza Junglee, Brother to the Nabob of Oude.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. David Anderſon to Mr. John Briſtow; dated Camp, near Gualear, 9th February 1783.

YESTERDAY Myrzee Junglee, a brother of the Nabob's, arrived in this Camp; it is ſaid that he left Myrza Shuffy in diſguſt—whatever objects he may have in view they will not long be concealed, and I imagine, I ſhall be able in my next letter to give you an account of them.

. . . . Myrza

.... Myrza Junglee, after ſtanding for ſome time on punctilio with Scindia, regarding the compliments of the firſt viſit, has at length had an interview; he was received with ſome marks of attention, and had a private conference of ſome length. As far as I have been able to learn, he left Myrza Shuffie on a ſudden, in diſguſt, with a few followers connected with him by the ſimilarity of their fortunes and diſpoſitions, and came to this camp without having concerted any plan, or taken any previous meaſures to inſure a favourable reception; the only object he ſeems to have at preſent, is to obtain ſome eſtabliſhment for his maintenance from Scindia. I believe as yet he has received very little encouragement; and his followers already begin to ſpeak of adviſing him, according to their different opinions, either to have recourſe to the Engliſh government, or to fly to Nizar Ally, or ſome of the princes of the Deccan; with whom it is ſuppoſed that the name of his father will ſtill have ſufficient weight to procure him a proviſion for his ſubſiſtence; at all events it ſeems to be the opinion of his followers, that nothing will ever induce him to have recourſe to the Vizier, or to truſt himſelf within his power.

Extract of a Letter Mr. A. to Mr. B.; dated Camp, near Bhet, 6th March 1783.

Myrza Junglee ſent yeſterday for one of my people, and told him, that when he left Myrza Shuffy he intended to go directly to Calcutta, and throw himſelf on the generoſity of the Engliſh; but that ſome of his followers ſuggeſted, that he would certainly be ſtopped by the officers commanding the troops, and delivered up to his brother the Vizier; that he therefore reſolved to come here with a view of intereſting Scindia and me to intercede with the Governor in his favour, or at leaſt getting ſuch letters from me, as would ſerve to protect him on the way to Calcutta; that accordingly, with theſe views, when he firſt came here he pitched his encampment cloſe to mine, although it was then a mile and an half ſeparate from Scindia's; but that ſoon after finding, that any intercourſe with me would not be very agreeable to Scindia, he had removed the main encampment, and his neceſſities being extremely preſſing, he had thrown himſelf on Scindia, who had for the preſent given him a ſcanty relief, and had promiſed to confer a conſiderable Jagheer on him hereafter, if he would engage in his ſervice, and raiſe a body of troops. Myrza Junglee added, that all his followers were averſe to his going to Calcutta, as ſuch a meaſure would infallibly cut off all their proſpects; but

but that for his part he was determined on it at all events, rather than truſt to the promiſes of the Marattas; and he declared, that if I would give him the ſmalleſt encouragement, he would quit all his followers, and come alone, and take up his reſidence under my protection.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. John Briſtow to Mr. David Anderſon; dated Lucknow, the 26th March 1783.

I have in conſequence of your letters of the 9th and 20th ultimo, and of the 6th inſtant, ſolicited permiſſion for Myrza Junglee to return, repreſenting the diſgrace attending his ſeeking for ſubſiſtence at foreign courts, and the numberleſs indignities he muſt expoſe himſelf and the Vizier to from ſuch a conduct. I hope I ſhall be able to ſucceed, but the utmoſt allowance he can expect at preſent will be two thouſand rupees a month, being the ſum allowed his Excellency's other brothers and ſiſters, of whom there are now living at leaſt thirty-three. I have endeavoured to perſuade his Excellency to place them upon a reſpectable footing, and pay their allowances regularly: ſome payments have lately been made at my interceſſion; and if Myrza Junglee returns, I think he may depend upon regularly receiving the allowance I propoſe. You will do me the favour to ſound him, and inform me if he approves the propoſal.

. . . . . I had the pleaſure of informing you on the 26th, of the terms upon which I propoſed that Myrza Junglee ſhould return: I now encloſe you the Vizier's and my Duſtreechs, granting him permiſſion: if he ſhould want any moderate ſum to bear his expences on the road, oblige me by granting it, and I will anſwer your bill.

The Nabob refuſed his aſſent to my applications at firſt, upon the plea that Myrza Junglee had not addreſſed him; he expected this mark of reſpect, and expreſſed a deſire that Myrza Junglee ſhould be conſidered as dependant upon himſelf, and not return upon the footing of Saadut Ally: this matter may be eaſily ſettled to his Excellency's ſatisfaction, by aſking Myrza Junglee for an Arzee to his brother before you deliver him the Duſtucks —his conduct before he left Lucknow was that of a wild young man, but I never heard any thing to his prejudice in other reſpects. He went to try his fortune at other courts, in preference to ſtarving at home, which might have been his fate by all accounts at this place.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Mr. David Anderſon to Mr. John Briſtow; dated Camp, near Gualier, 6th April 1783.

I am favoured with your letters of the 26th and 28th March, and have communicated the contents of them to Myrza Junglee, intimating at the ſame time, that as I had underſtood he had formed ſome connections here, ſo nothing of what you propoſed could take place through my interference, unleſs Scindia acquiſced in his leaving him.

I have now the pleaſure to incloſe a letter from Myrza Junglee to you, and an Arzee to the Nabob, which I hope will obviate all his Excellency's ſcruples in point of reſpect. Alla Reza Cawn, who has now the chief direction of Myrza Junglee's affairs, came to me this morning, and informed me, that Scindia had offered to ſettle on him a Jagheer of the diſtricts of Punchemohal, amounting to 40,000 rupees per annum, to be held in the name of his ſon Bourhan ul Dien Hyder, as a proviſion for the ſubſiſtence of his Begum and family, to give him perſonally an allowance for 60,000 rupees per annum, for keeping up a Reſſallah of horſe three hundred horſe, and to put

. . . .

under his command a battalion of infantry, to be paid directly from Scindia's treaſury. Alla Reza ſaid, that his maſter had hitherto declined to accept of theſe offers, being deſirous of rather availing himſelf of the friendſhip you have indicated towards him; he ſeemed however to be under ſome apprehenſion leſt his brother ſhould have ſome treacherous intentions of either confining or killing him. I obſerved, that if you had not been very well aſſured of the fairneſs of his Excellency's intentions, you would never have joined in inviting him to Lucknow, and that this conſideration ought to make him perfectly ſatisfied. Alla Reza ſaid, that this was very juſt—he then objected to the ſmallneſs of the ſum propoſed for him, it was not only inadequate to his expences, but infinitely leſs than what his Excellency had ſettled on many perſons of very inferior rank, who have not ſo good a claim to his ſupport. I anſwered, that from what you had written there was not the leaſt reaſon to expect at preſent that the allowance would be encreaſed. He then ſaid, that what was propoſed would not be ſufficient to enable him to live at Lucknow, where all his friends and relations were, and where ſo many of his inferiors lived in a greater degree of affluence; in caſe therefore it could not be encreaſed, he requeſted that you would procure him permiſſion to live at Etayah, Allahabad, or Patna, or to go down to Calcutta, or to continue here with me;

in

in any of theſe ſituations, he ſaid, he could with leſs difficulty regulate his expences, ſo as to be able to live on his Excellency's allowance. I promiſed to write to you on this ſubject, and Ally Reza ſaid, that on receiving your anſwer and his Excellency's, if this requeſt was granted, he would immediately embrace the offer which you have made to him, and quit all his proſpects here of Scindia's concurrence. Myrza Junglee ſeems to have no doubt. I am, however, apt to think, that Scindia will uſe every effort to detain him here; but I muſt make his concurrence a neceſſary condition, as it otherwiſe be will ſaid I had ſeduced away a perſon, if not actually engaged in his ſervice, remained in his camp with that intention.

If I may offer my advice, I would recommend that his Excellency ſhould allow Myrza Junglee to reſide at Ellahabad, and direct the Aumil to pay him attention. I have ſeen him only once, but as far I can learn, he conducts himſelf with great propriety. He has lately diſmiſſed the greater part of his followers.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. John Briſtow to Mr. David Anderſon; dated Lucknow, 22d April 1783.

I HAVE been favoured with your letters of the 6th inſtant.

The propoſition relative to Myrza Junglee was not very well received; the Vizier is diſinclined to the granting his permiſſion for him to reſide at Ellahabad, or any frontier ſtation. It is earneſtly wiſhed, that he ſhould return to Lucknow, as he would then be conſidered entirely dependent on the Nabob;—his reſidence at any place than the capital is conſidered as ſubject to many objections, from the influence a man of his birth muſt unavoidably have in ſuch a ſituation. I yeſterday had a final converſation with the Miniſter on the ſubject; and he at laſt aſſured me, that I ſhould be certain of the Vizier's approbation for Myrza Junglee to retire to any part of the Company's provinces, particularly Patna; which agrees with one of the alternatives you have propoſed: the Miniſter was particularly anxious, that you ſhould be informed of the impoſſibility of the encreaſe of the propoſed allowance of two thouſand rupees per month; and requeſted that I would repeat what I had before adviſed you of, in my letters on the ſubject, that previous to his departure from Scindia's camp, you would be particular in impreſſing on his mind, that if at any future period the Vizier's finances would admit of any further conſideration, it ſhould be conſidered only as a mark of his bounty, and not of right. I have addreſſed the Board for their permiſſion

permiſſion for Myrza Junglee to retire within the Company's provinces, provided you ſhould, in conſequence of his letter, obtain Scindia's conſent, and ſettle the matter in other reſpects to the ſatisfaction of all parties.

True copies.

(Signed) J. NEAVE, Aſſiſtant.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor-general, and the Members of the Supreme Council, Fort William.

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

I HAVE now the honour to incloſe you bills of exchange, agreeable to the accompanying liſt, of fifteen lacks of Calcutta Sicca rupees (Ca. Sa. Rs. 1,500,000) borrowed upon the plan propoſed in my addreſs of the 3d inſtant. Every exertion ſhall be made to ſupply you with the moſt ample reſources, but the certain and only mode of ſecuring them, is to regulate the abuſes of the Vizier's government, render the Nabob's ſituation really affluent and dignified, and not ſuffer a deſigning miniſter to uſurp his authority, and perpetuate a ſyſtem which is founded upon anarchy and a total want of œconomy. I cannot now in any one inſtance act with confidence; and I deſpair, as I have already repreſented to you, of accompliſhing the great objects of my appointment, except by the immediate interpoſition of your authority, and your fulleſt ſupport. The preſent critical ſeaſon of the year, when every arrangement ought to take place, makes me anxious for your ſpeedy deciſion, as a certain loſs will attend delay. I have great ſatisfaction in informing you, that ſuppoſing I had the hearty aſſiſtance of the Miniſter, the ſituation of affairs is ſuch, as would flatter me with every proſpect of ſucceſs in reducing the Vizier's powerful Aumils, and reſtoring the peace of the country.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Lucknow,
7th June 1783.

JOHN BRISTOW.
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor-general, &c. Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William.

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

I am honoured with your commands of the 29th ultimo, containing violent complaints preferred againſt me by the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn; and ſhall tranſmit as ſpeedily as poſſible my defence againſt each ſeparate allegation.

I think it my duty, Gentlemen, to repeat the ſubſtance of my former repreſentations, that ſuch general diſtreſs and

and oppreſſion prevail throughout the country, and ſuch ruin attends upon every rank and claſs of men, owing to Hyder Beg Cawn's mal-adminiſtration, that unleſs a reform be vigorouſly enforced, the moſt ſerious conſequences are to be apprehended, both to the Vizier's affairs and the honourable Company's reſources. This, Gentlemen, is the ſeaſon of the year for regulating every abuſe, and Hyder Beg Cawn's view, in thus urgently ſoliciting my recall at ſo critical a period, needs no comment.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Lucknow, (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.
13th June 1783. Reſident at the Vizier's court.

Instructions from the Governor-general to Mr. John Bristow.

Conſ. 21ſt April.

To Mr. John Briſtow.

Sir,

CONFORMABLY to the reference of the Board, I recommend and enjoin your ſtricteſt attention to the following inſtructions:

1ſt. The balance due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, partly from the negligence and inaccuracy with which the monthly accounts were drawn out, and partly from the inattention of the late Reſident, had been ſuffered to accumulate to an amount exceeding that at which it ſtood at the cloſe of the laſt year, notwithſtanding the ſpecial care which I myſelf had taken in my agreement with the Nabob Vizier, concluded on the 19th of September 1781, at Chunar, and my inſtructions delivered at the ſame time to the Reſident, ſince enforced with very peremptory and repeated orders. This obliged me lately to write, in very ſtrong and unuſual terms, both to the Reſident and to the Miniſter, and produced the effect of an immediate exertion and conſequent diſcharge of a part of the balance, and aſſurances of the ſpeedy payment of the remainder. I do not implicitely rely on theſe aſſurances, but conclude that on your arrival you will find either a large balance ſtill outſtanding of the laſt year's account, or that the whole has been paid off by encroachment on the current year's revenue. In either caſe, your attention will be equally required to the ſettlement of this year's aſſignment, unleſs it ſhall have been already accompliſhed. You will be careful to guard againſt fictitious

eſtimates;

eſtimates; and if any ſuch ſhall appear in the aſſignments already formed, you will of courſe inſiſt upon their being exchanged for others, or their Jumma reduced to their real value, and others added, to complete the ſum of the year's demands; that is to ſay, the laſt year's arrears, the two ſubſidies of the current year, and the other ſums for the payment of which our government has or ſhall have made itſelf reſponſible; ſo that at the cloſe of the year the whole ſhall be entirely and completely diſcharged.

2d. You will obſerve a very conſiderable difference between Mr. Middleton's account and the corrected account delivered to him by the Accountant-general, and now in the poſſeſſion of your accountant Mr. Wombwell; a difference nearly equal to thirty lacks of rupees. To the former, though made up with falſe calculations, groſs omiſſions, and even balances falſely transferred from one month's account to the other, Mr. Middleton has pertinaciouſly adhered, affecting to call the difference a new claim upon the Nabob. I fear this may render it an unpleaſant office to you to rectify his error, as I have no doubt that the ſame declaration which he has made to this government will have been made as a conceſſion to the Nabob and his miniſter, and of courſe your demand for the difference treated as unjuſt, and formed on falſe pretences; but the real account is ſo clear, and the difference ſo ſelf-apparent, that it will be impoſſible for the Miniſter to controvert or miſunderſtand them, however he may affect the latter.

3d. Endeavour to obtain an early and minute information of the ſtate of the provinces of Owde eſpecially, and the reſt of the Nabob Vizier's dominions; and report the reſult of your inquiries to me, under the following heads, viz.

1ſt. Their government.
2d. Their military defence, and diſtribution of the Nabob's forces.
3d. Revenue.
4th. Diſpoſition and actual conduct of the Zemindars, and the means taken for reſtoring and preſerving the quiet of the country.
5th. The character and credit of the principal Aumils.
6th. Under this general head, I muſt alſo refer to your inquiry, and deſire you will inform me, whether the ſums lately levied, or affirmed to have been levied and brought to the Company's credit by Mr. Johnſon, have been drawn from the revenue of laſt year, or borrowed,

rowed, and assignments given for the repayment of the revenue of that year, or exacted by anticipations of the current revenue: one of which cases I very much suspect, because they must have been received at a season in which the regular collections are always at a stand.

7th. Also by what mode, and through what agents, these collections were made.

4th. Immediately on your arrival sound the disposition of Hyder Beg Cawn: his conduct has for some time past been highly reproachable. Till within these three months, when Mr. Johnson assumed a large portion of his authority, he possessed, without controul, both the unparticipated and entire administration, with all the powers annexed to that government, the Nabob himself being, as he ever must be in the hands of some person, a mere cypher in his, and the sanction by which he exercised his authority; yet he has dared to use both the Nabob's name, and even his seal, affixed to letters, either dictated to the Nabob, or written from him without his knowledge, containing very improper demands on our government, and such as evidently tended to procure Hyder Beg's influence and interest, and even to make him assume a very unbecoming tone of refusal, reproach, and resentment, in opposition to measures recommended by me, and even to acts done by my authority, in literal conformity to the Nabob's own and earnest solicitations; such as the resumption of the Jagheers, and the seizure of his father's treasures, which had been so long suffered to remain in the hands of the Begum his mother, and the other conditions of the engagements exacted from me at Chunar. On every occasion of this kind, the late Resident has been the faithful echo and support of the Minister's pretensions; I must therefore have recourse to you for the introduction of a new system in that government; nor can I omit, while I express my reliance upon you for this purpose, to repeat the sentiments which I expressed in the verbal instructions which I gave you at your departure, "that there can be no medium in the relation be-"tween the Resident and the Minister, but either the "Resident must be the slave and vassal of the Minister, or "the Minister at the absolute devotion of the Resident." Much as I am displeased at the conduct of the Minister, I impute it more to the sufferance of Mr. Middleton than to himself; and if he will submit to hold his office on such conditions as I require, I would certainly prefer him to any other man who could be nominated to his office,

becauſe he poſſeſſes abilities, and a knowledge of buſineſs. He exiſts by his dependance on the influence of our government; and above all, becauſe a change of adminiſtration in a government ſo looſe as that of Owde, where all the parts of it are held together by the exertion of actual power, and not by the ſprings of an eſtabliſhed conſtitution, would be unavoidably productive of confuſion, and loſs of revenue: therefore it muſt be adviſeable to try him by the mode of conciliation, in your final converſation with him, at the ſame time that it will be neceſſary to declare to him, in the plaineſt terms, the footing and condition on which he ſhall be permitted to retain his place, with the alternative of diſmiſſion, and a ſcrutiny into his paſt conduct, if he refuſes it. In the firſt place, I will not receive from the Nabob, as his, letters dictated by the ſpirit of oppoſition; but ſhall conſider every ſuch attempt as the Miniſter's, and as an inſult on our government: in the ſecond place, I ſhall expect that nothing is done in his official character but with your knowledge and participation; at the ſame time, the firſt ſhare of the reſponſibility will reſt with you. The other conditions will follow diſtinctly in their places, becauſe I conſider you as reſponſible for them.

5th. No adminiſtration can be properly conducted without regular offices. In that of Owde there is not one, the whole being engroſſed by Mr. Miniſter. Two are indiſpenſably neceſſary; firſt, an office of collections; ſecondly, an office of treaſury. I inſiſt upon theſe eſtabliſhments being formed immediately; and it muſt be your care to appoint ſuch checks to each, that whatever ſums are paid from the revenue ſhall be duly entered, and credit given for their exact amount in the office of collections: and in like manner, that no ſums ſhall paſs the treaſury, without a ſimilar controul. The heads of theſe offices muſt of courſe be under the general directions of the Miniſter in all points, excepting their accounts; for the fidelity of which they muſt be ſolely reſponſible, and made liable to the ſeveral puniſhments if they falſify them. What other officers may have been in uſe in the time of the Nabob Suja ul Dowlah, and at this time neceſſary, you will enquire, and either cauſe them to be re-eſtabliſhed, or not, as it ſhall appear to be proper.

In this laſt deſcription I include the Adawlets. You will find them recommended but conditionally in my inſtructions to Mr. Middleton. It is certain that the want of them, and the univerſal and extreme licentiouſneſs occaſioned thereby, is one of the moſt diſreputable defects in the Nabob's government; yet I much doubt whether introduced into ſuch a ſtate at once and abruptly, they would

would not add to the miſchiefs which they were intended to redreſs; for perhaps there is ſcarce an individual who would not become immediately obnoxious to their authority, and I fear ſcarce an individual capable of diſcharging even a ſmall portion of their decrees. While they do not exiſt, every man knows the hazard which he incurs in lending his money. Their eſtabliſhment might tend to deceive, by holding out the appearance of falſe aſſurances; and with reſpect to oppreſſions of every ſpecies, unleſs each court was armed with a ſtrong military force, it would not be in their power to prevent or puniſh them; neither in that caſe is it certain they would not themſelves prove the greateſt inſtruments of oppreſſion. The Aumils in the firſt inſtance, and the Munduls or chiefs of the villages ultimately, muſt ſupply this defect, as proper for your enquiry and conſideration, but cannot give you any inſtructions concerning it.

6th. Great care muſt be taken in the choice of Aumils. I ſhall not deſcend to particulars, but enjoin one caution only, as indiſpenſably neceſſary, that no Aumil be appointed to a frontier ſtation, without ſuch pledge, or other ſecurity, for compelling his perſonal appearance whenever required, as may inſure, beyond a doubt, his obedience and fidelity; and both theſe and others, wherever ſtationed, ought to have the means of ſelf-protection, and to be truſted and ſupported.

7th. The means by which Almaſs Ally Cawn has been permitted to acquire independency have been long ſeen, and the effects of it foretold by every perſon acquainted with the ſtate of that government, except thoſe immediately intereſted in it. The late Reſident has been his conſtant advocate, and I lately underſtand that, however truly, the Miniſter diſclaims all concern in this imprudent meaſure. It is very extraordinary that his defection, his retreat to the frontier, the ſubſequent negociations which paſſed between him and the Nabob, the engagements concluded between them, which reſemble more a treaty between equal ſtates than a tranſaction between a ſovereign and his vaſſal, have all paſſed without the leaſt communication or report of them made to me by the Reſident, or his aſſiſtant, or the Miniſter; and in a letter which I have lately received from the Nabob, the Miniſter has had the preſumption to make the Nabob declare the whole to be falſe, and without foundation, and to affirm that every part of his dominion enjoyed the moſt perfect peace and tranquillity. Upon this ſubject, the behaviour of the Miniſter is ſo reprehenſible, that I think it incumbent upon me to let him know my ſentiments of it: it will at leaſt ſhew him how thin the veil is by which

he covers his own acts, and that ſuch artifices will only tend to make them the more criminal, from the falſehood and duplicity with which they are aſſociated. As for Almaſs Ally Cawn himſelf, the policy which has been obſerved towards him has been ſcandalouſly derogatory from the Nabob's dignity and intereſt, and hurtful to the reputation of our government, as far as it is connected with it. If any engagement ſhall actually ſubſiſt between them at the time you have charge of the reſidency, it muſt, however exceptional, be faithfully obſerved; but if he has been guilty of any criminal offence to the Nabob his maſter, for which no immunity is provided in the engagement, or he ſhall break any one of the conditions of it, I do moſt ſtrictly enjoin you, and it muſt be your ſpecial care to endeavour, either by force or ſurprize, to ſecure his perſon, and bring him to juſtice: by bringing him to juſtice, I mean that you urge the Nabob, on due conviction, to puniſh him with death, as a neceſſary example to deter others from the commiſſion of the like crimes; nor muſt you deſiſt till this is effected.—I cannot preſcribe the means: but to guard myſelf againſt that obloquy to which I may be expoſed by a forced miſconſtruction of this order, by thoſe who may hereafter be employed in ſearching our records for cavils and informations againſt me, I think it proper to forbid, and proteſt againſt, the uſe of any fraudulent artifice or treachery to accompliſh the end which I have preſcribed; and as you alone are privy to the order, you will of courſe obſerve the greateſt ſecrecy that it may not tranſpire: but I repeat my recommendation of it as one of the firſt and moſt eſſential duties of your office.

8th. From the practice which the late Reſident and his deputy, and the miniſter, ſeemed to have preſcribed to themſelves of withholding all official information from me, I have been under the neceſſity of forming my opinion of the ſtate of the Nabob's government upon private intelligence; but this, from its variety, from its concurrence, notwithſtanding the various channels through which it has paſſed, and above all from its notoriety, comes to me with all the weight which the higheſt authority could give it. For ſome facts I have the teſtimony of ſworn evidence; ſuch are the tranſactions of the rebel Zemindars of Gooruckpore and Bareach in the inſurrections of the laſt year, which had for their immediate object the deſtruction of Colonel Hannay, and the officers of his command; and, ultimately, the extirpation of the Engliſh influence and power throughout the whole of the Nabob Vizier's dominions. The Zemindars who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion were Zalem Sing, Genoo Roy, and Perly

Pall

Pall Sing. I am well informed that these men have persevered in their rebellious conduct, without deviation, to the present time, though the Nabob's, and not our government, is the object of it.—Represent to the Nabob, and effectually, the bad policy of suffering such examples to pass with impunity. Obtain his order for employing some sure means for apprehending these Zemindars; and if it shall appear, on a fair and regular inquiry, that their conduct towards the Nabob (I pass over that which regards ourselves alone) has been such as it has been reported to be, he ought, and you must insist upon it, to punish them with death, and to treat with the same rigour every Zemindar, and every subject who shall be the leader in a rebellion against his authority. Severe as this injunction may appear at first sight, it will be mercy in its effects, if the Nabob will adopt the policy, by insuring the tranquility of his country, and saving the blood of his people; for the resolution, once published, and enforced in a single instance, will make it unnecessary to prosecute it to a second example.

9th. I have been informed by the late Colonel Hannay, that some time before his recall was determined, he had agreed to a settlement of 23 lacks complete, and without deductions, for the revenue of Goorookpore and Bareach for the present year, and that on his recall a new arrangement had taken place, in which a selection had been made of the most valuable Talooks or portions of this district, and that they had been distributed among the domestics and other favourites of the minister, and that the rest had been farmed to one Aumil Abdool Beg, as I recollect, and the whole reduced to a Jumma of 18 lacks, from which a provision of future remissions was made for Seebundy anticipations, and Pymauly, or ravages committed during the late insurrections. These are facts of such a kind as will confirm themselves by their own evidence; and if you find them to be such, it must be your care to correct the abuse if you can, for the present, or at least to apply the best remedy in your power to it, and restore their future Jumma to its real value. I shall not enter further or more minutely into the subject of the general collections, but I am particularly solicitous to ascertain the real value of this district, for a reason which I will proceed to explain.

From the nature of our connection with the government of Owde, from the Nabob's incapacity, and the necessity which will for ever exist while we have the claim of a subsidy upon the resources of this country, of exercising an influence, and frequently substituting it entirely in the place of an avowed and constitutional authority in

the adminiſtration of his government, and from the conſequences inevitable in ſuch a connected ſyſtem, directed as it muſt be under all the various changes and reſolutions incident to our government by men of various character, and degrees of capacity and integrity, the time will come when that claim ſhall accumulate to a ſum exceeding the Nabob's ability to diſcharge it, but by ſome ancient meaſures of accommodation, which may at the ſame time releaſe him from an intolerable burden, and yield to us a more rational and ſubſtantial, though leſs oſtenſible income. Such a reſource, and indeed in no other, would be afforded by aſſignment in property, and in perpetuity, of the diſtrict of Goorookpoor and Bareach, in lieu of all demands whatſoever for ſubſidy, even though the additional charge of extraordinary detachments furniſhed for the defence of his dominions were added to it. Such an accommodation, if even it ſhould take place, muſt be produced by a ſtrong neceſſity compelling it; for neither would the Nabob, weak as he is, ſubmit to yield to it now, nor would I, firmly convinced as I am of its expediency, recommend the acceptance of it at this time, while ſo ſtrong an apparent difference between the produce of the aſſignment, taken at its higheſt probable eſtimate, and the amount of the ſubſidy, exiſts as an objection to it. The annual claim of the ſubſidy being 34,020,000 rupees, and Colonel Hannay's Jumma of Goorookpore and Bareach, which muſt be taken at its higheſt rate, but at 23 lacks; but as an argument for the meaſure, if ever it ſhould become a ſubject of immediate conſideration, I will briefly add the advantages which will certainly accrue from it.

1. Its ſituation, bounded by a great and impaſſable river, the Dava, connecting with the Ganges, the boundary line of the moſt defenſible part of our dominions.

2. The means which it would afford us of putting a total ſtop to the continual inroads and ravages by which our own diſtrict of Sircar Sarum has been, and will be continually infeſted, from its open communication with the rude territory of the lawleſs Zemindars of Goorookpore immediately adjoining to it.

3d. A certain and improveable revenue, inſtead of a precarious demand on account, payable from a fund which I have ſaid muſt at ſome period prove inſolvent.

Having thus expoſed to you my views, I now leave them a charge on your recollection, recommending it to you to obtain all the inſight which you can into the ſubject, both with reſpect to its preſent revenue, to the improvement of which it would be capable in our hands, and

and to the means by which the aſſignment itſelf could at a proper ſeaſon be obtained.

10th. On the information of the defection of Almaſs Ally Cawn, of ſymptoms apparent of the like diſpoſition in the Aumil of Rohilcund, and of the general anarchy which prevailed in every other part of the Nabob's dominions; the Board, though officially unapprized of theſe, as of every other ſubject requiring their knowledge of them, reſolved and ordered that a ſtrong detachment, under Colonel Sir John Cummings, ſhould march into the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, both for its internal defence, and for the relief of the numerous detachments which we underſtood (and this alſo from private information only) have been made by the ſole authority of Mr. Johnſon, covered by the Nabob's formal requiſition, from the army ſtationed at Cawnpoor: you will receive an order from the Board to notify to the commanding officer of every detachment, that its ſervices are no longer required; which notification it will reſt with your diſcretion to make on the inſtant in which you ſhall ſee that it can be done with ſafety; and a correſpondent order will be ſent to Colonel Morgan, to command the inſtant return of every detachment within four-and-twenty hours after the receipt of every ſuch notification upon this ſubject. I deſire you to bear in mind, that the army at Cawnpore, or in whatſoever part of the frontier it may be ſtationed, is appointed for the internal defence of the Nabob's dominions, and for that only; that this was its original deſtination intended by the treaty of 1773, commonly known by the treaty of Benares; and that every deviation from this object, and every diminution of its force, are impolitic and highly dangerous to our own exiſtence, by the encouragement which it will afford to foreign invaſion. I underſtand that at this time there are only two regiments of Sepoys left to ſupport the ſmall body of Europeans to which the ſtrength of that ſtation is now reduced.

Events may hereafter ariſe of ſo ſudden and urgent an emergency, as to require a temporary deviation from this maxim; but it will be with the greateſt reluctance and diſſatisfaction that the Board will ever hear of ſuch a diſpoſition, and therefore you muſt be careful that the exigency be ſuch from its urgency and neceſſity, as will clearly juſtify you in deviating from it, though but by the call of a ſingle regiment of that ſtation to any part of the Nabob's internal dominions; and on every ſuch occaſion you muſt be careful to comply with every formality enjoined by my inſtructions to Mr. Middleton, dated the 23d of September, and to tranſmit inſtant advice of

it to the Board, not waiting for the detail of your reaſons, which, to prevent delays, may follow as you ſhall have more leiſure to form them.

I muſt make it my particular injunction, that ſuch a notification as I have mentioned above may be at all events inſtantly tranſmitted to the officer commanding the detachment ſent to Furruckabad, if my information be true, that ſuch a meaſure has been aſſumed by Mr. Johnſon, for which no pretext can juſtify him.

11th. What I have to ſay under this head is immediately connected with the concluding part of the preceding. From a ſolicitude to guard againſt any imputations to which the reputation of our government might be expoſed by its interference in the Nabob Vizier's claims upon the Nabob Mozaffer Jung, I made uſe of my influence with the miniſter, enforced by ſtrong injunction to the Reſident, that no force ſhould be exerciſed on that Nabob, nor any perſon ſent to uſurp the charge of his government and collections, while he continued to pay his ſtipulated annual tribute to the Vizier as it became due: the conſequence of this recommendation was, if I may credit the reports of the Reſident and the miniſter, that from the inſtant that the Nabob withdrew his interference, the Nabob Mozeffer Jung deſiſted from making his payment: you will know with certainty whether this report was true; if it was, you muſt leave the Nabob and the miniſter to act in this buſineſs in what manner ſoever they pleaſe, and entirely forbear from all interference in it.

12th. Mr. Middleton has written to the Board that Fyzoola Cawn has been making preparations for entering on open hoſtilities with the Nabob Vizier, and combining other perſons againſt him; I ſuſpect the information, but prudence requires to be prepared againſt the poſſibility of ſuch an event. It is poſſible that the apparent weakneſs may have excited Fyzoola Cawn to form ſuch a deſign; it is more probable that he has been driven to it by the public declarations and menaces both of the Reſident and the miniſter. I have written a letter to him, ſuch as I think beſt calculated to divert him from any ſuch undertaking, by aſſurances of the favourable diſpoſition of this government towards him, while he ſhall not have forfeited it by any improper conduct, and by ſtating to him the fatal conſequences which muſt attend his defection. That letter you will perhaps receive earlier than I ſhall be able to put you in poſſeſſion of theſe inſtructions; I ſhall only add, upon this head, that you muſt be guided by your own diſcretion in whatſoever relates to it; but be careful to prevent the Nabob's affairs

from

from being involved with new difficulties, while he has already ſo many to oppreſs him.

13th. The ſeverities which have been exerciſed towards the Begums were moſt juſtly merited by the advantage which they took of the troubles in which I was perſonally involved the laſt year, to excite a rebellion in the Nabob's government, and to compleat the ruin which they thought was impending on ours. If it is the Nabob's deſire to forget and to forgive their paſt offences, I have no objection to his allowing them in penſion the nominal amount of their Jaghires; but if he ſhall ever offer to reſtore their Jaghires to them, or to give them any property in land after the warning which they have given him, by the dangerous abuſe which they formerly made of his indulgence, you muſt remonſtrate in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt it—you muſt not permit ſuch an act to take place, until this government ſhall have received information of it, and ſhall have had time to interpoſe its influence for the prevention of it.

14th. Study on every occaſion to conciliate the goodwill of the Nabob, and ſhew him every oſtenſible and external mark of reſpect. I ſhould hope that with due attention you would not find it difficult to make him himſelf the mover of every act neceſſary, whether for the advancement of his own intereſts, or the diſcharge of his debts to the Company. But this can never be effected while the miniſter maintains that aſcendant over him which he at preſent holds by the means of a nearer and more private intercourſe, and by affecting to be the vindicator of his rights againſt the claims of our government. In my late engagement with the Nabob it was ſtipulated that a certain ſum ſhould be ſet apart monthly for his private expences, and this made a part of my inſtructions to Mr. Middleton. The ſum was afterwards fixed, as I recollect, of 30 lacks. It was my intention and direction, that this appropriation ſhould be made before any other, and this I make my preſent injunction to you; requiring alſo that you do make it a part of immediate and ſtrict inquiry, whether the Nabob has hitherto received the whole and punctual payment of the ſum aſſigned to this account, or any part of it has been withheld from him, whether with or without his concurrence. I mention this, becauſe, from ſome private information which I have lately received, I have reaſon to ſuſpect that this is actually the caſe. Whatever foundation there may be for this report, let juſtice be done to the Nabob; and if he has been deceived, undeceive him.

15th. The Nabob has repeatedly and bitterly complained of the indignity which he ſuffers in his authority,

rity, by the uſurpations of the Company's Reſidents; and has repeatedly demanded, that whenever the Company's balance ſhall be completely diſcharged, he may be freed from this vexation; that he may be permitted to pay the ſubſidy in ready money; and that the aſſignments which have been granted to ſatisfy that demand may be reſtored him. I confeſs that I did myſelf give encouragement to this propoſition, knowing at the ſame time the quarter from which it came, I mean from Hyder Hyder Beg; and willing to exonerate this government from the trouble and reſponſibility, and the Company from the diſgrace of whatever might attend the adminiſtration of the Nabob's government. I thought too that it preſented a ſure proſpect of the regular payment of the current demands, by the penalty which would attend the failure, in the reſumption of the former ſyſtem of aſſignments, and in the perſonal claims which it would lay on the miniſter. But his miſconduct has ſince manifeſted itſelf in ſo many particular inſtances, beſides the univerſal diſorder of the country, and this is ſo alarming in its effects to our government, that I ſhall heſitate, until I have the ſureſt and moſt ſatisfactory grounds, to recommend an acquieſcence in ſuch a meaſure. At preſent the plea on which it is grounded is probably yet at ſome diſtance; for while I am writing theſe inſtructions freſh circumſtances occur to my knowledge, which make me much ſuſpect the real payment of the ſums brought to the Nabob's credit for the laſt year's balance. It may not, however, be amiſs to talk with the miniſter on this ſubject, to let him know that it is well underſtood to be a demand for ſubſtituting his authority in the place of the Company's, and to inveſt him with the ſovereignty of the Nabob Vizier's dominions;—to aſk him, whether in ſuch caſe he ſhall expect the Company's protection? and if he does, by what claim of right? And whether, in the event of his involving our government in a new ſcene of hoſtilities, by thoſe which his mal-adminiſtration may produce, whether internally, or by invaſion in that country, he ſhall think himſelf in juſtice exempt from the perſonal vengeance which we may be diſpoſed to exact from him?—At all events the propoſition muſt be diſcouraged till a ſafer ſeaſon for its acceptance; but the abſolute rejection of it eluded with the Nabob, if he ſhall himſelf renew it.

16th. For the reſt I refer you to my inſtructions to Mr. Middleton, to which, in every point not revoked or qualified by theſe inſtructions, I muſt require your moſt attentive and literal obedience.

17th. I

17th. I do juſtice to my ſenſe of your character, in declaring my entire reliance on your prudence and integrity, and to theſe I truſt for your deviation from any part of theſe inſtructions at your diſcretion, in any inſtance which ſhall appear to you neceſſarily to require it; and inſtantly inform me, or the Board, according to the degree of its importance, that you have acted in ſuch manner, with your reaſons for it.

I am,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble ſervant,

Fort William,
23d October 1782.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Acting Sec. to the Secret Department.

Conſultation, 29th September 1783.

THE Governor-general delivers in the following minute, containing his obſervations on Mr. Briſtow's letter and defence:

It is with great regret that he offers a compoſition of ſuch unuſual length for a place in the conſultations. It was written with a ſtronger regret, operating as a diſcouragement on his mind, and no leſs mortification, from the reflection of the incongruity of ſuch a drudgery with the cares and functions which ought to be the occupation of the perſon filling up a ſtation ſo important as that which he holds, had he the power of attending to the firſt, or diſcharging the latter. He ſolemnly declares, that the powers of this government are not in his hands, nor exerciſed by the principles which he profeſſes. Diſarmed of the means of averting, by an inſtant and decided act of authority, the evils which he has long ſince ſeen impending on the Britiſh character and intereſts, he has devoted himſelf to the labour of diſplaying them for the view of higher authorities, on whoſe wiſdom and juſtice he ſecuredly depends for their due retribution, if this repreſentation ſhall arrive too late to produce the remedy which he hopes to derive from it—The ruin of a great dominion, the open violation of juſtice and public faith, the contempt reflected on this government from its repreſentation, and reproach from the acts done under its authority, merited at leaſt the labour of a few days for the production of the only reſource which remained for their

their removal, even from the firſt and executive member of the conſtitution, if they have not interfered with more urgent calls of his duty.—To him it has been the ſacrifice of a length of time which he reviews with pain.—He foreſees the conſequences to which it may lead, in the long interval which muſt precede its effects, but is prepared to meet them; and whatever may happen of the events which he dreads in the train of affairs now ſubſiſting, he ſhall at leaſt receive this conſolation under them, that he uſed his utmoſt exertions to prevent them, and that in the annals of the nations of India which have been ſubjected to the Britiſh dominion, he ſhall not be numbered among their oppreſſors.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Governor General.

It would have been unjuſt to have preſcribed to Mr. Briſtow, either the mode or bounds of his defence. I ſhall aſſume the ſame privilege in my examination of it, and by throwing aſide all the extraneous ſubjects, reaſonings of difficult or unimportant application, profeſſions of integrity, and ſounding declamation, which make up the bulk of the compoſition, endeavour to comprize all that is eſſential of the general ſubject in the following remarks.

On the 21ſt of April I laid before the Board two letters from the Nabob Vizier, and three from his miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn, all filled with various complaints of the conduct of Mr. Briſtow, the Reſident of this government at the court of the Nabob Vizier; as the conſtitutional channel of all political correſpondence I had no option, had I been ſo inclined, to ſuppreſs them.—They were as much the concern of the other members of the Board as my own; but as they perſonally regarded an individual highly patronized, and then recently withdrawn from that dependance on my own authority, with which I had endeavoured to accommodate my ſubmiſſion to the orders of the court of Directors in his appointment to the ſtation which he held, I foreſaw at once all the difficulties of the part which I had to act, both with reſpect to my immediate colleagues in office, and my ſuperiors at home.——Under this impreſſion I imparted the ſubject with much delicacy to the other members of the Board, but thought I ſaw in its reception a temper that boded little eaſe to my feelings in the proſecution of the charges, or juſtice in the termination of it.—The gentlemen of the Board muſt not be offended at this declaration; I mean not to allude to what paſſed when we were in private at the firſt communication of the complaints,

but

but to the firſt minutes which were delivered upon them on the 19th and 22d of the month following.——I had ſuffered all the intermediate delay, from a fear of irritation; and on the 19th of May I ſimply moved that the charges ſhould be tranſmitted to Mr. Briſtow, with orders to revoke all appointments made by him under the government of Nabob Vizier, and not appertaining to the duties and rights of his office.

On this queſtion the members of the Board entered their ſeparate opinions, agreeing to tranſmit the charges for Mr. Briſtow's defence; but objecting to any other conſequent act until he ſhould have replied to them, as it appeared that he had not exceeded his inſtructions, and that the complaints were founded on intereſted motives.—Mr. Macpherſon added to his opinion a propoſal, that the ſimilar charges ſhould be drawn againſt Meſſrs. Middleton and Johnſon, on which the Board had been partly induced to remove thoſe gentlemen from the truſt ſince committed to Mr. Briſtow; and Mr. Stables, with a deciſion which ſeemed to preclude the neceſſity of any enquiry whatever, delivered it as his opinion, that, "in "juſtice and candour to the Nabob Vizier and his mi-"niſter, the Board ought explicitly to declare, that they "could not on any account comply with the Vizier's "requeſt, to grant him diſcretional powers over his "country, whilſt ſuch heavy debts remained due to the "Company."—I was ſilent, and the debate briefly cloſed without any reſolution following it.

On the 22d of May I laid before the Board another letter from Hyder Beg Cawn, with narratives of converſations held between him and Mr. Briſtow. I recapitulated what had paſſed with relation to the former papers, remarked on the minutes of the preceding council, and renewed the ſame queſtion, which had been left undetermined. The other members entered their opinions, which amounted to a reſolution, formally paſſed, to ſend to Mr. Briſtow the charges, but not to revoke the appointments which he had made.—I proteſted; declared the inſtructions to be annulled which I had given to Mr. Briſtow, and which had been pronounced a valid authority for his acts; requiring the other members to form other rules for his conduct more conſonant to their own principles.

In the mean time Mr. Briſtow having intimation of the firſt complaints againſt him, which had been laid before the Board on the 21ſt of April, addreſſed a letter to the Board, dated the 13th of May, and filled with general complaints againſt Hyder Beg Cawn, and a ſpecific charge of having impeded his endeavours to eſtabliſh a

new

new plan, which he had formed for the adminiſtration of juſtice for the city of Lucknow and the dominions of Oude. This letter was received on the 29th of May, but the Board properly agreed to ſuſpend the conſideration of it till the receipt of his reply to the charges which had been preferred againſt him, and theſe were accordingly tranſmitted to him in a letter of that date, which was more than five weeks after their firſt delivery.

I ſhall detain the narrative in this place but to make one brief obſervation of the difference of Mr. Macpherſon's behaviour on this, from that which he ſhewed on a former occaſion, not very diſſimilar:—When Mr. Johnſon, acting in the place of Mr. Middleton, was accuſed of having appointed Aumils or collectors over the lands aſſigned by the Nabob Vizier for the payment of the Company's balance and growing debt, and of having aſſumed other acts of authority which appertained ſolely to the regular adminiſtration of the Nabob Vizier, I moved the Board to order his immediate recall, deeming it improper to expoſe a whole province to diſorder, and the credit of the Engliſh name to imputation, through a principle of delicacy to an individual, who might have time and freedom allowed for his defence, and, if innocent, might be both effectually acquitted by an act paſſed at any remote period of time, and receive full compenſation by appointment to an equal or higher poſt of credit. I well remember with what promptneſs theſe ſentiments were adopted by Mr. Macpherſon. My motion was delivered on the 7th of September, in a written meſſage to the Board, dictated from my bed, to which I was confined by a ſevere indiſpoſition. It paſſed unanimouſly on the ſame day, with orders correſponding, to Mr. Middleton the Reſident, announcing Mr. Johnſon's recall; to Mr. Johnſon, requiring his departure within 48 hours, on pain of arreſt; and to Colonel Morgan, the commanding officer at Cawnpoor, commanding him to ſend Mr. Johnſon a priſoner to Calcutta, if he exceeded the time preſcribed. Little more ceremony was obſerved towards Mr. Middleton, whoſe imputed miſconduct was the cauſe of his removal, though a ſcrupulous attention to the orders of the court of Directors was the ground of Mr. Briſtow's appointment to ſucceed him. Theſe were officers of my own nomination, and how favoured and ſupported by me, while their conduct appeared to merit it, the world well knows. When I ſaw cauſe to change my opinion of them, and thought their continuance in office of a pernicious tendency to the Company's intereſts, I moved, and Mr. Macpherſon gave his moſt hearty and unqualified

unqualified voice, for their diſmiſſion, without allowing them an hour of grace for defence, or even for a reply. But when Mr. Briſtow ſtood charged with the ſame acts, and other accumulated offences, Mr. Macpherſon, the patron of Mr. Briſtow, recommended that, on a principle of common juſtice, he ſhould be heard on his defence; diſcredited the authority of the miniſter, which had divulged them; and intimated, I am ſure not on a principle of common juſtice, that, during the proceſs of the enquiry, Mr. Briſtow's authority ſhould be rendered effectual, that is abſolute, and the miniſter's of courſe annihilated; yet the miniſter's was the ſame authority, and the chief, if not only authority, on which Mr. Johnſon was removed, though that of the Nabob Vizier is added to the accuſation of Mr. Briſtow, and both his oath and his miniſter's tendered in ſupport of them.

That I may not be charged with a miſconſtruction of Mr. Macpherſon's words, I will ſubjoin them, in the following extract of his minute:

"It is my opinion, upon a principle of common juſ-
" tice, as well as from a regard to the Company's regu-
" lations, that copies of the Vizier's letters, and of thoſe
" of Hyder Beg Cawn, containing complaints againſt
" Mr. Briſtow, ſhould be immediately ſent to him for his
" information, and to prepare his defence againſt the
" complaints."——" And as the Reſident is now un-
" der heavy accuſations, probably for a neceſſary exerciſe
" of that power (the power of checking the influence of
" the miniſter) ſo it is evident that our government will
" ſtand in ſuſpence, if it is not rendered * effectual at
" the court of Owde, during theſe contentions between
" the acting miniſter and our Reſident."

On the 23d of June the Board received a letter from Mr. Briſtow, dated the 13th, and acknowledged the receipt of the Board's orders of the 29th, with a promiſe of a ſpeedy reply, and a declamatory recrimination of Hyder Beg Cawn.

* *I find, on comparing this extract with the original minute, that the word* effectual *has been erroneouſly written for* ineffectual, *which is the term uſed in the latter. As my obſervation applied immediately to the word* effectual, *I cannot now change it, and this note will ſuffice to do juſtice to the text; nor will it affect the fidelity of my obſervation, the meaning of both words being conſtructively the ſame; for Mr. Briſtow had required the removal of Hyder Beg Cawn, on the plea that he ſhould be unable to diſcharge the duties of his ſtation effectually without it, and Mr. Macpherſon's repetition of the plea is an implication of the ſame concluſion, or it ſtands for nothing.*

The

The promiſe contained in this letter remaining unperformed on the 24th of July, I complained to the Board of this diſreſpect ſhewn to their authority; and, on the next council-day following, which was the 28th, I moved, "That Mr. Briſtow, for diſreſpect to the Board, and "diſobedience of the orders written to him by the Board, "on the 29th of May, and acknowledged by him on the "13th of June, in having to that time avoided or neglected to reply to the ſame, ſhould be removed and "recalled from his ſtation and office at Lucknow."

I alſo moved, "That as the Nabob of Owd, in his "letter received on the 7th of April laſt, and laid before "the Board on the 21ſt of the ſame month, had deſired "that Meſſrs. Briſtow and Cowper, the actual Reſident "and deputy appointed for the tranſaction of the Company's affairs at his court, might be recalled from "thence, and that he might be allowed the exerciſe of "diſcretional power for the management of his country, "and the payment of the Company's money or debt; "and had engaged, that on theſe conditions he ſhould "pay the full amount of whatever ſhould be due to the "Company, both of the paſt and growing debt, in ſuch "manner as the Board ſhould preſcribe; that the office of "Reſident at the court of the Nabob of Owd, with that "of the deputy and other ſubordinate parts of the ſame "eſtabliſhment, excepting the office of Accomptant, "ſhould be diſſolved, and the Nabob of Owd, and his "miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn, made jointly reſponſible, "according to the terms of their letters, as ſet forth in "the extracts ſubjoined to my minute, for the payment "of the ſums due to the Company for the preſent and "enſuing year Fuſſulee, ending in September 1784."

Mr. Macpherſon being prevented by ſickneſs from attending at the Board, it was propoſed, and I yielded, to defer the deciſion of my queſtion to the next meeting.

It muſt be remarked that, on the 7th of July, the Board received a letter from Mr. Briſtow dated the 23d June, mentioning that he had been ſick, and confined to his bed ſince the 20th of the ſame month; and this was pleaded as an excuſe for his not having yet replied to the Board's commands of the 29th of May: and on the 28th of July the Secretary informed the Board that he had received another letter from him, dated the 16th, repeating the ſame excuſe, with a promiſe that his reply ſhould follow on the morrow, or next day at furtheſt.

On the 31ſt July the Board being fully aſſembled, paſſed a decided negative on my queſtion, in both the terms of it. I was a little ſurpriſed to find ſomething like an accuſation brought againſt myſelf by Mr. Wheler, in

in an obſervation made by him in a minute produced at the Board, ſtating, "that it was improper to ſhift the "ground of the original charges to diſreſpect;" adding, that "this was of all others the moſt improper time to "leave the Nabob and the Company to the mercy of his "miniſters."

I think the remark uncandid. Nine weeks had now paſſed ſince the Board had tranſmitted to Mr. Briſtow a ſeries of accuſations amounting to the general charge of his having uſurped the ſovereign authority of the Subahſhip of Owd, and required his anſwer to them.—Under a pretext of a few days of ſickneſs he had evaded the reply, and it yet remained a doubt whether he meant to make one. From the rumours which had ariſen in the intermediate time, of approaching changes in this government, and the advantage which Mr. Briſtow was ſaid in his imputed converſations with Hyder Beg Cawn to have made of them, I did believe, and do believe, that his object in the delay was principally to allow time for the rumours, if true, to be verified by their effect, and the enquiry, or the ſeverity of it at leaſt, precluded by my removal from the government; though it might ſerve for another purpoſe, which I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. It is certain that a ſufficient time had paſſed for Mr. Briſtow to have made his defence, and for the Board to have received it, had his ſickneſs been ſuch as he repreſented it. In the mean time he retained the powers which he had uſurped; the credit of his influence was eſtabliſhed, to the diſcouragement both of oppoſition, and of any evidence which might have been produced againſt him; he was in poſſeſſion of the privilege which forbids that a man accuſed ſhall be convicted unheard, with powerful advocates to maintain it; for even in the debates of this day, it was aſſerted in his favour, and on the ſtrength of it he might maintain his ground unmoleſted to any indefinite period. I have underſtood it to be in many caſes a maxim of law, that if a man accuſed before a tribunal competent for his trial ſhall refuſe to plead to the accuſation, his refuſal ſhall be aſſumed to be equivalent to conviction: it is certainly contumacy, and as ſuch, applied to the occaſion and conſequences of it, it merited both the puniſhment of the offender, and that remedy for the public diſorders attendant on it which the Board could apply; and theſe were the united principles and objects of my queſtion. Was this a ſhifting of the original charges? or when theſe were evaded, and the only alternative which remained was, either to let a criminal eſcape with impunity, and deride the authority which had called on him for his

defence; or to proceed to judgment againſt him—was it not ſtrictly regular in me to propoſe the latter, and thus, by a decided act of government, to remove at once both the evil and its author?

Mr. Macpherſon's objections to the queſtion were, that he could not condemn Mr. Briſtow unconvicted; that Mr. Briſtow had been ſick, and might have had other reaſons for the delay; that he could not conſent to the abolition of the reſidency, and "leaving to the Vizier "and his miniſter the powers which they required,"—without full ſecurity for the Company's intereſts, and the peace "of our frontiers;" adding a ſuggeſtion, which I do not well comprehend, relating to the re-eſtabliſhment of the French in India.

I ſhall only take notice of that part of his minute which relates to Mr. Briſtow's plea of ſickneſs.—I am impelled by a ſenſe of duty, ſuperior to the conſideration of perſonal tenderneſs, to declare, that the plea, even in the terms of it, is inadmiſſible, and that I believe it to be almoſt wholly without foundation. Mr. Briſtow acknowledged the receipt of the charges in a letter dated the 13th of June.—On the 23d of June he wrote to the Board, that he had been ſick, and confined to his bed ſince the 20th, that is little more than two days; and on the 16th of July he wrote to the ſecretary, that his indiſpoſition had prevented him.—Surely his indiſpoſition was not ſo violent in all that long period, but that, with the acknowledged benefit of one entire week of health, he might have found intervals of eaſe to finiſh that part of his defence which required his perſonal labour; for, abſtracted from the copies of the original papers with which he has connected it, and which were the work of his official aſſiſtants, his defence alone might, in the judgment of any unbiaſſed reader, be rated as the compoſition of a very few days.—The expreſſion of Mr. Briſtow's letter to the ſecretary does not convey the idea of ſevere ſickneſs; and I am glad of it, becauſe I am morally certain that his ſickneſs, whatever it was, was not of ſuch a kind as to ſerve for the excuſe to which he has applied it. I will give my reaſon for this concluſion:—when Mr. Briſtow's laſt plea arrived, I aſked Rajah Gobind Ram, the Vakeel of the Nabob Vizier, whether he had heard that Mr. Briſtow was very ill? He anſwered me with ſuch an air and tone of voice as uſually accompany the expreſſion of common information, that he had not; and that if Mr. Briſtow had been very ill, he ſhould ſurely have known it.—As my reply ſeemed to mark a doubt of his being truly informed, he brought me, I believe the next day, an extract of a letter from his correſpondent at Lucknow, which adviſed him

him of a ſlight diſorder with which Mr. Briſtow appeared to have been affected in February or March laſt; inferring from thence, that if Mr. Briſtow had been ſeriouſly ill at a later period, his correſpondent could not have failed to inform him of it, which he had not done.—Let not Rajah Gobind Ram be the object of diſpleaſure to any one for the uſe which I have made of his evidence; for to this hour he knows not the purpoſe for which it was exacted, nor has, I am certain, a ſuſpicion, that in a plain anſwer to an unimportant queſtion, he was furniſhing an argument of perſonal conſequence to the gentleman to whom it related.

On the 11th of Auguſt Mr. Briſtow's long-expected defence arrived, with a letter, dated the 30th of July.

It may not be unuſeful, in this place, to recur to the documents which contain the charges againſt him: theſe will be found at large in the Nabob Vizier's letters, and in the letters and other papers of his miniſter, Hyder Beg Cawn, which were entered in the conſultations of the 21ſt of April, and 22d of May. Thoſe of the Nabob Vizier I ſhall here enter at large, referring for the others to the places in which they regularly ſtand, and to Mr. Briſtow's tranſcript of them, annexed to his defence.

From the Nabob Vizier to the Governor-general. Letter the 1ſt: received the 28th March 1783.

Uſual introduction.

From the commencement of the friendſhip between the late Nuvvaub and you, and the gentlemen of the Council, on this ſide there has been no deficiency. In conſequence of the interchange of Turbans between you and the late Nuvvaub, I look up to you as the brother of my father. My country and my dwelling are yours. I have on all occaſions ſtudied your pleaſure, and the ſatisfaction of the gentlemen of the Council; you on your part have ſtill acted with the duties of friendſhip and affection, and I feel and acknowledge the obligation.

The diſpoſition and conduct of Mr. Briſtow were formerly known to you. You lately wrote to me, that having included him in the number of your choſen and ſelect friends, you had ſent him here; and Major Palmer, agreeable to inſtructions from you, returned from Cawnpore to Lucknow to adviſe and encourage me. This he did, recommending attention and regard to the inclination and ſatisfaction of Mr. Briſtow.

Mr. Briſtow, at his firſt interview, aſſumed the diſguiſe of affability and kindneſs. His firſt propoſal was, that I ſhould entruſt him with the management of my houſe-

hold: if I would, he ſaid, he would conduct the buſineſs of that department in ſuch a manner as would give infinite ſatisfaction.—I replied, that for the intereſt of the Company's Surcor he had full public powers, and that I approved of them from my heart, as the means of confirming and ſtrengthening the friendſhip between the Company and me, and that I would comply with every thing he might propoſe for the benefit of the Company's Surcor; but that in my houſehold concerns there was not any thing of ſuch importance as to render it neceſſary to trouble him.

In a few days he aſſumed a line of conduct correſpondent to his diſpoſition—to attempt a particular and minute account of it would be in vain and fruitleſs. Not one circumſtance which could be productive of indignity, contempt, or the annihilation of my authority, has he left unperformed. Shoccahs reſpecting the regiments and other matters he has cauſed to be written through Hyder Beg Khan, without my knowledge; he has ſent a Suzzawul to Furruckabad contrary to my inclinations; and is preparing to ſend Suzzawuls to other places. He has ſtrictly forbid my miniſters from writing to you on the ſtate of things, declaring that if any preſumed to write a ſingle circumſtance of the tranſactions here to Calcutta, he would call him to a ſevere account. He ſent a meſſage to me directing me to appoint a treaſurer and comptroller of his chuſing; that the monies from the Mahalauts * aſſigned for the expence of my houſehold eſtabliſhments and domeſtics ſhould be paid in to the above-mentioned treaſurer and comptroller, and kept in a ſeparate houſe allotted to that purpoſe—that people ſent by him ſhould be ſtationed there for its protection, and that what was neceſſary ſhould be expended with his knowledge and under his direction.

I replied, that every one throughout the whole empire, from the higheſt to the loweſt, had the direction of his own houſehold eſtabliſhments and domeſtics; and deſired to know whether he would deprive me of *that* authority alſo. He anſwered, that ſuch were the orders of the gentlemen of the Council, and he would execute them. I repreſented to him, in the moſt earneſt and forcible terms, by meſſage, that this meaſure would be of no benefit to him, but that it would cover me with indignity and diſhonour in the eyes of all mankind; that it would be ſaid, the Nuvvaub Vizier was ſo completely diveſted of all power and authority, that by the appointment of a treaſurer and comptroller, he had no longer any command

* *Aſſigned lands.*

over

over his own houſehold eſtabliſhment and domeſtic ſervants. This meſſage had no effect: he came to viſit me, and aſked why I entertained apprehenſions from the appointment of a treaſurer and comptroller; that he propoſed it with a view to the regulation of my affairs: (he had ſaid, at firſt, that neither he nor Hyder Beg ſhould have any concern in the appointments of the treaſurer and comptroller, but that I ſhould appoint whom I thought proper) I replied, that the appointments of treaſurer and comptroller of my houſehold would be a diſgrace to me: after that he propoſed, that I myſelf ſhould take upon me the management of all my affairs, and that the miniſters ſhould be diſmiſſed. As I knew that this propoſal for the diſmiſſion of the miniſters was made with a ſecret view to the full eſtabliſhment of his own authority, in order to ſound his intentions I obſerved, that in the time of Moktaur ul Dowlah ſimilar converſations had paſſed between us, and that when I wanted to do it he himſelf protected him. He replied, that I might now do what I thought proper with reſpect to the miniſters, that he would give it under his hand and ſeal, that they ſhould not receive protection either from him or from the gentlemen of the Council. I ſaid, that the miniſters had hitherto committed no crime worthy of diſmiſſion; but that I wiſhed he would give up the intended appointments of comptroller and treaſurer. He replied, that he had orders to that purport, and that it was not in his power. Here the converſation ended.

Again he repeated his meſſage for the appointment of the treaſurer and comptroller; I ſaid, in anſwer, that the Jagheers of my parents, my relations, my friends, and my officers, were all ſequeſtered, that they had no means of ſubſiſtence, and that it was my wiſh to admit them all to a participation in the little which remained to me, but that he would not permit even that; that he threw a cord about my neck to prevent my eating my morſel in eaſe and comfort; that the miſeries of my friends, relations, and Jagheerdars, filled me with the deepeſt diſtreſs; to that he added theſe diſquietudes: and I intreated him for God's ſake to leave me at reſt.

He again viſited me in perſon, ſaying, "I deſire you "to appoint a treaſurer and comptroller, your Highneſs "refuſes to acquieſce. To-day I tell you plainly, that "my orders are peremptory; that whether you may be "pleaſed or diſpleaſed, I will at all events appoint a "comptroller and a treaſurer, will call in the money "from the Jauidauds *, and will iſſue it under my own

* *Literally Aſſets. It here means aſſignments.*

" authority, for the expences of your houſehold." I re-
" plied, " Whatever you may propoſe for the benefit of
" the Company's Surcar, I am ready to acquieſce; but
" to an arrangement of my houſehold, ſo diſgraceful and
" pernicious, I alſo will never agree: I will not conſent
" to be deprived of my proper authority, and to receive
" from your hand the ſubſiſtence for my domeſtic ſer-
" vants, and the animals of my houſehold."—" If your
" orders are peremptory, give to me a copy of the orders
" of the gentlemen of the Council—my ſeal is forth-
" coming, I will ſend it to you, and you may do by
" violence whatever you may think proper.—I will ſhut
" up the doors of my houſe—there I will ſit, and ſe-
" clude myſelf from all ſociety." He replied, it was well—he would give me a written copy of the orders from the gentlemen of the Council, I might ſend my ſeal: he would at all events execute the meaſure.—He then roſe, and retired.

For two days repeatedly I ſent my ſeal to him by the Mowlavee, that he might do whatever he thought proper; and then he ſaid, that if I would not affix my ſeal voluntarily, my ſeal was unneceſſary: he would ſend letters under his own ſeal, and would himſelf appoint a treaſurer; to which I returned no anſwer. Accordingly the Tunhaw monies which came in he delivered to Mr. Cowper, and Mr. Cowper appointed a man named Dechait to the office of treaſurer.

Whatever he chuſes to have written to any one, he cauſes drafts of the Shoccahs to be made out by his own Moonſhee, and ſends them by Sheikh Shuffee Ullah. Sheikh Shuffee Ullah's Khidmutgar cauſes them to be written by my Moonſhee; and having cauſed my ſeal alſo to be affixed to them, carries them away. Hence you may form a judgment of the extent of my authority, and of that of my miniſters.

He brought forward and carried into execution a reduction of the troops, and that too without conſulting me even as a common Sirriſhtehdar *. He threatens my miniſters, telling them to act as he directs, otherwiſe he will cauſe them to be turned out of their offices. The miniſters, influenced by the terrors of this menace, obey him; and this he conſtrues into the management of affairs with the advice and approbation of the miniſters of my Surcor.

The whole city, and many of the gentlemen here, are acquainted with the indignities I ſuffer. My ſituation, my friend, although I am every way devoted to your

* *The head of an office.*

pleaſure,

pleaſure, is wretched beyond meaſure. My friends and my relations, the Jagheerdars, and the officers of my government, are ſtarving. By enquiry inform yourſelf of the actual ſituations of theſe people. Such is my own condition, that Mr. Briſtow throttles me, as it were, in order to force the morſel from my mouth.

I am made wretched to extreme by this conduct of Mr. Briſtow. If you will give me leave, and write to me to that purport, I will come to you. Allow me not to be rendered contemptible in this country, where we have lived for three generations in honour and proſperity. I will come to you, and I will make no complaints; either do this, or deliver me from the hand of this man. I am devoted to your pleaſure: I will not object to any thing. Whatever you may direct, agreeably to that I will act. If you are ſolicitous to promote my proſperity, confer upon me diſcretional power over my country, and for the payment of the monies to the Company. By heaping theſe miſeries and indignities upon me, Mr. Briſtow has engaged for the payment of certain ſums. After obtaining a perfect knowledge of my ſituation, whatever may be the mode on which you ſhall determine, be pleaſed to inform me thereof, and I will cauſe the monies to be paid to you through the hands of my miniſters. If any deficiency or default of payment ſhall ariſe, do, on the inſtant, whatever you ſhall think proper. In freeing me from theſe indignities, you will procure a laſting reputation to yourſelf.

Concludes as uſual.

P. S. In the Nuvvaub Vizier's own hand.

My diſtreſſes, my friend, exceed all bounds. This is the time for kindneſs and generous affection. I entreat that I may either obtain my requeſt, or that you will call me to you.

From the Nabob Vizier to the Governor-general. Second Letter: Received the 7th April 1783.

Uſual introduction.

I have already informed you fully of the perſecutions and indignities I have ſuffered from the hands of Mr. Briſtow. The contumely and deprivation of authority which I experience at his hands, are redoubled daily. I am every way diſpoſed to fulfil your pleaſure. The payment of the Company's demands I conſider as an object ſuperior to all others, and wiſh to diſcharge them in preference to every other appropriation.

I entreat you, by enquiry to make yourſelf acquainted with the conduct of Mr. Briſtow. The meaſures on which he has determined, and which he is carrying into execution, cannot, I am certain, correſpond with your ſentiments and intentions towards me, or with thoſe of the gentlemen of the Council.

He declares that the government of this country is his by right, for that he has brought orders or authority from Europe; that he will take the entire management of it into his own hands, and with his own hand give what is to be given. It is his intention to reduce me to the ſtate of a ſervant dependant upon him. I am oppreſſed to the

dependant

. . . . .

laſt extremity, and my life is become a burthen to me.

I am ready and willing to pay the Company's monies. I entreat, as a favour, that you will recall Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper, and permit me the exerciſe of diſcretional power for the management of my country, and the payment of the Company's monies. I will cauſe payment of thoſe monies to be made through the hands of my miniſters, in the manner hereafter mentioned:

That is to ſay, Whereas Mr. Briſtow has declined taking bills from the † Mahajens, for the balance of Teeps, for 26 lacks given by them; and has taken the Jacodauds aſſigned to thoſe Mahajens into his own hands, and declared that he himſelf will collect the amount, and remit it to the Company's treaſury; the truth of which you may aſcertain from the Mahajens, who have given Teeps, and who declare themſelves ready to grant bills for the ſame, if put in poſſeſſion of the Jaeedauds originally aſſigned to them. When your orders, eſtabliſhing my authority for the management of my country, and the payment of the monies, ſhall arrive, and Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper be recalled from hence, I will procure bills to be granted by thoſe Mahajeens, to the amount of the balance of the Teeps, and tranſmit them to you; and whatever ſums may remain due on the bills for 26 lacks, granted by Gopaul Doſs Sâhoo, from whom Mr. Briſtow has taken, by violence, my miniſter's Tummuſſook *, and ſubſtituted his own in the place thereof, I will take back Mr. Briſtow's Tummuſſook from the Gomaſtahs of the afore-mentioned Sâhoo, and cauſe it to be returned to Mr. Briſtow; and for what ſhall remain due to the ſaid Sâhoo, I will cauſe ſuch good and ſubſtantial ſecurities to be given to his ſaid Gomaſtahs on the ſpot, that no cauſe for ſuſpicion or doubt ſhall remain; and with

† *Bankers.* * *Bond.*

reſpect

reſpect to the preſent year Fuſſely * 1190, and the Jâeedauds for the Company's money ſettled and received by Mr. Briſtow, and for the amount of which he has taken Tummuſſooks from the Aumils of the ſaid Jâeedauds, let him be directed to deliver up the Tummuſſooks of the ſaid Aumils to me, and whatever ſums may remain due from the ſaid Jâeedauds, and payable by the ſaid Aumils, the ſame ſhall be remitted to you in bills, kiſt by kiſt, by my miniſters; and whatever ſums you ſhall direct to be paid here from the amount thereof, for the uſe of the Company's troops, the ſame ſhall be paid here monthly, to the commanding officer of the troops.

And for the enſuing year Fuſſulee 1191, whatever plan or mode you ſhall pleaſe to dictate and determine, that plan or mode, on your informing me thereof, ſhall be received, and ſtrictly followed. I will not object to or heſitate to fulfil your pleaſure in any reſpect whatever. If you will pleaſe, as a mark of your friendſhip, to recall Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper, and confer on me diſcretional authority for the management of my country, and for the payment of the Company's monies, with God's aſſiſtance, I will cauſe thoſe monies to be furniſhed and remitted by my miniſters. Agreeably to what I have written, if any defect or deficiency ſhall happen, you will, on the inſtant, take whatever meaſures you ſhall think proper.

Concludes as uſual.

In the Nawaub Vizier's own hand.

I hope my friend, from your kindneſs, that I ſhall be delivered from theſe diſtreſſes, and obtain my requeſt.

The allegations of the preceding letters, and of thoſe of the miniſter, Hyder Beg Cawn, in which they are more fully detailed, if reduced to diſtinct and formal charges, will ſtand as follows.

1ſt. That Mr. Briſtow had aſſumed an abſolute power in the adminiſtration of the affairs of the Nabob Vizier, appropriating, or endeavouring to appropriate, to himſelf all the offices of government; taking all the public accounts under his own charge; diſmiſſing and appointing the Aumils or officers of the collections; receiving and iſſuing the public money of the Nuvvaub's ſtate; and performing other acts appertaining ſolely to the ſoveteignty of the Nabob Vizier, or to the authority dele-

* *The Fuſſulee year begins on the* 14*th of September.*

gated

gated by him, ſome without the knowledge, and ſome againſt the conſent, of the Nabob Vizier.

2d. That he had aſſumed the inſpection and controul of the Nabob's private expences and domeſtic arrangements, not only without his conſent, but againſt his entreaties and vehement proteſtations.

3d. That he had demanded and attempted, by threats of diſmiſſion from office, to extort from the miniſter, Hyder Beg Cawn, a contribution of 25 lacks of rupees from his private fortune.

4th. That he had compelled the miniſter to write and iſſue Shookas, or mandates, under the Nabob Vizier's privy ſeal, without the knowledge of the Nabob Vizier.

5th. That he had treated the Nabob Vizier with perſonal indignity and inſult, viſiting him for the declared purpoſe of making declarations to the Nabob of his reſolution to aſſume the controul of his adminiſtration, and uſing harſh and unbecoming language in his preſence; and treating, in converſation with the miniſter, the Nabob Vizier's remonſtrances and fears with deriſion, calling them tricks and artifices.

6th. That he had forcibly aſſembled the Nabob Vizier's Mutteſeddies, or official ſervants, at his own houſe, detaining them there eight days, and compelling them to prepare muſter-rolls of the Nabob's Mutayena, or militia forces; that he had afterwards diſbanded 4,000 horſe and 7,000 foot of the ſaid troops, declaring his intention of raiſing Sepoys for the Nabob's ſervice in their room: and that theſe acts and declarations were made without the authority of the Nabob Vizier either obtained or ſolicited.

7th. That he had appointed a trooper, named Mahomed Beg, a Sazawel or comptroller of Ferruckabad, in direct oppoſition to the Nabob's repreſentations, and compelled the miniſter to iſſue the Shooka, or Vizier's mandate, for the appointment.

8th. That, excluſive of the revenues aſſigned for the debt of the Company, Mr. Briſtow had prohibited the diſpoſal of the remainder, thereby precluding the penſioners, jagheerdars, officers, troops, and ſervants of the Nabob Vizier from the means of ſubſiſtence, to the diſgrace of the Nabob Vizier, and the danger of his ſtate.

9th. That for all the preceding and other acts, performed or attempted by Mr. Briſtow, he had affirmed that he had poſſeſſed written orders from myſelf, and from the

. . .

Governor-general and Council.

10th. That

10th. That on the demand made by the Nabob Vizier for a copy of Mr. Briſtow's orders for aſſuming the controul of his houſehold, he promiſed to deliver to the Nabob the ſame in writing, which promiſe he never performed; and that he had in like manner promiſed to write to the Governor-general the Nabob Vizier's objections to that interference, and requeſt to be freed from the ſame, which promiſe he never performed.

11th. To theſe charges Mr. Briſtow has himſelf added one more in his letter to the Board, dated the 13th of May, namely, that he had attempted to carry into execution a plan for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and had inveſted Mr. Cowper with extraordinary and undefined powers for receiving complaints from the ſubjects of the Nabob Vizier, and ſuperſcribing them with orders in the ſtile of mandates from the Nabob Vizier for the redreſs of the complainants.

I paſs over other charges which are either in themſelves leſs culpable, or ſuch as may derive their criminality from the claims which I poſſeſs to Mr. Briſtow's reſpect of my authority, or to his perſonal gratitude.——The liberties which have been taken with my character by my former opponents in office, the contumelious terms which have been taken by the court of Directors in almoſt all uſed

. . .

their letters written in a long courſe of years to this government, the wounds which have been inflicted on my official influence, even by the ſame men, the truſtees of the Company, and of the national intereſts in India, and even in the moſt deſperate ſtate of their affairs, while they called on me for my particular exertions for their retrieval, will afford Mr. Briſtow a ſanction in the opinion of many, for every declaration or artifice uſed by him, or imputed to him, which had the deſtruction of my influence or authority for its object.——On theſe points I ſhall let the original charges and Mr. Briſtow's defence ſtand uncommented, and make their own impreſſion.

I regret that the mode in which the charges preferred againſt Mr. Briſtow were tranſmitted to him, renders it difficult to follow the order in which I have arranged them, or any other, in the examination of his defence.—I could not preſcribe a better mode, nor could I have propoſed it without expoſing myſelf to miſconſtructions.—I muſt therefore follow Mr. Briſtow's defence, as he has applied it to the correſpondent parts of Hyder Beg Cawn's firſt letter, which appears to me to comprize the the whole of it.—One thing I own ſurprizes me; which is,

is, that though the Nabob Vizier has been loud in his complaints, and is the only relative ſubject of Mr. Briſtow's guilt or innocence, in the immediate effects of the acts on which they depend, Mr. Briſtow paſſes them either wholly without reply, or with remarks which are wholly foreign from his own acquittal, and confines himſelf with a ſtudied adherence to the firſt letter of Hyder Beg Cawn.

Perhaps it will be expected, that I ſhould firſt take notice of Mr. Briſtow's letter which accompanies his defence.—Upon this I can ſay but little: when it was read at the Board, I liſtened to it with more than common attention, expecting it to contain the principal ground of his juſtification; and was a little mortified, that in the firſt pages of it I could catch nothing which I could ſubſtantially apply either to his acquittal or condemnation; nothing that I could either admit or refute; but an elegance of ſtyle exceeding by infinite degrees the talents of its oſtenſible writer; a characteriſtic prudence and delicacy of expreſſion, which, avoiding the terms both of affirmation and denial, gently touched on both, and left ſuch an impreſſion on my mind as, had I not wholly confined my attention to the expectation of information, would have diſarmed me of the moſt painful of the ſenſations which had been excited by what I already knew too well of the general ſubject.

To whomſoever Mr. Briſtow is indebted for this compoſition, it is certainly not his own.—Combining the date of his letter to the Board, which beſpoke the forbearance of his delays, with the length of time requiſite for his original draft, or whatever materials were furniſhed for the ſubſtance of the letter, to arrive in Calcutta; for the compoſition of the letter, or for its correction; and for its tranſmiſſion to Lucknow, and final diſpatch to Calcutta, altogether comprehending the exact ſpace of thirty-ſeven days;—I believe it to have been the work (I mean either in the compoſition or correction) of a very diſtant hand.—I owe it in candour to the perſon on whom my conjectures have fixed it, to declare that I attribute it to Mr. Macpherſon.

I ſhall now examine Mr. Briſtow's replies to the firſt letter of Hyder Beg Cawn, received the 28th March.

In the firſt paragraph he uſes this expreſſion: "I have "unremittingly perſevered in exerting my ſervices for "the benefit of both Sircars."

Profeſſions of this kind are ſeldom taken literally; but Mr. Briſtow ſeizes it as an inſtrument for diſcrediting Hyder Beg Cawn's evidence in all his aſſertions, becauſe he ſays, "the articles of the treaty of Chunar are with-

"out

" out exception to this hour in the ſame forwardneſs, " with reſpect to their accompliſhments, as they were on " the 23d of September 1781, or on the day of the ra- " tification."—I do not know what article of the treaty of Chunar does remain unaccompliſhed.——It is certain that the principal articles, which related to the reſumption of the Jagheers, was accompliſhed; for the Jagheers were not only reſumed, but they are inſerted in Mr. Briſtow's own accounts as making part of the laſt year's aſſignments, granted or taken for the diſcharge of the Company's balance.—It is certain, therefore, that Mr. Briſtow has in this inſtance hazarded an aſſertion which his own evidence has refuted: yet I do not think that even his own example would warrant his opponent in calling it " a declaration that carries falſehood in the face of it," in applying to it the terms of " the moſt unbluſhing " confidence,"—and, " an utter contempt of truth," or in affirming that " it is ſufficient to deſtroy at once all " opinion of his veracity."

While Mr. Briſtow yields to the impulſe of ſo unguarded a malevolence, in arraigning the character of another, he ought at leaſt to be careful not to furniſh weapons for wounding his own. I ſhould not have caſt away a moment's attention on ſo frivolous an argument, but that Mr. Briſtow ſeems to have reſted upon it as the principal ground of his defence; aſſerting univerſally, on the ſtrength of it, his right to implicit belief, on the credit of his own veracity, and the aſſumed falſehood of Hyder Beg Cawn.

2d Para.—In the ſecond paragraph, Hyder Beg Cawn accounts for his paſt ſilence on the ſubject of his actual complaints, by aſcribing it to " the ſtrict injunctions of " Mr. Briſtow, that no one ſhould preſume to inform " this government of the ſtate of affairs here," that is, at Lucknow;—to this charge Mr. Briſtow applies the full force of the poſition eſtabliſhed in the preceding paragraph. His words are ſo remarkable, that any comment upon them would but weaken their impreſſion: I ſhall therefore quote them at large.—" This, gentlemen, is " alſo an aſſertion without proof: I crave permiſſion to " oppoſe it by a flat denial; and in addition to what I " have ſaid in the preceding article, I beg it may be re- " membered, that I have never yet been convicted of " deliberate falſehood."

With reſpect to the charge itſelf, it muſt be admitted, that it is, if true, capable of poſitive proof, were there any power on the ſpot competent to collect the evidence of it; and that Hyder Beg has not offered to produce any proof of it. But neither does it appear that it was intended

tended as a criminal charge, but rather as an excuſe for forbearance; nor that it was a deſign either of the miniſter, or of his maſter, to convey in their letters more than the repreſentations of facts; the proofs in this, as in every inſtance of the like nature, were regularly to follow in the proceſs of enquiry, inſtituted on the reception of the charges. Yet I can myſelf afford a preſumptive proof in ſupport of it, which is, that all intercourſe between the Court of Lucknow and myſelf had certainly ceaſed ſince Mr. Briſtow's arrival, unleſs it may be affirmed to have ſubſiſted in a very few letters of mere form, or in an application for Bramins to be ſent to the Nabob, who were ſkilled in the art of innoculating. I can poſitively vouch for the effect, whatever cauſe may have produced it; nor can I deviſe any other, unleſs it can be ſuppoſed that the Nabob and his miniſter had early concerted this plan of reſerve, for the purpoſe of aſcribing it to Mr. Briſtow; a ſuppoſition inconſiſtent with itſelf, as it ſtates an effect of reſentment preceding the ground of injury.

3d Para.—This paragraph conſiſts of profeſſion on one ſide, and denial and invective on the other. They require no other comment.

4th Para.—This claims a different notice. Hyder Beg Cawn accuſes Mr. Briſtow, firſt of an early declaration of his intention to aſſume the immediate and entire charge of the Nabob's adminiſtration, in moſt of the terms comprehended in the 1ſt article of the charges which I have prefixed to this examination; and, ſecondly, of attempting to extort from him 25 lacks of rupees of his own private property, which is the 3d article of my charges. To the firſt point Mr. Briſtow replies, that "it is a vague "and unſupported aſſertion, marked by its abſurdity, "contradicted by fact, and requiring no other refuta-"tion."—I muſt differ in this concluſion: if the charge is contradicted by fact, it is capable of refutation; and the fact ought to have been produced with its evidence, to refute it. Plain aſſertion and denial are not refutation.

On the 2d charge he dwells with a ſtronger emphaſis, affirming it to be an abſolute falſehood in terms, ſtating the fact to which it relates in contradiction of it; and concludes with a declamatory antitheſis on the defeat of his antagoniſt, a commendation of his own moderation, and an expreſſion of regret, that the public intereſts had ſuffered by his too ſcrupulous adherence to it. I ſhall only examine the fact which he calls "a moſt ſimple "tranſaction." Hyder Beg Cawn's ſtate of the claim made on him by Mr. Briſtow, is expreſſed in theſe words: "Therefore I muſt give five-and-twenty lacks of rupees

"from

" from my own private property, to enable him to pay " the troops, houſehold eſtabliſhment, and Jagheerdars." Mr. Briſtow affirms it to be " abſolutely falſe," or, in other words, that he did not require of Hyder Beg Cawn " that he muſt give five-and-twenty lacks of rupees from " his own private property," &c. " I propoſed," ſays he, " to the miniſter, to aſſiſt government with a loan " from his own fortune, or upon his credit; obſerving, " that it was incumbent on thoſe who derived advantages " from their public ſtation to prove their zeal for the " ſtate, by uniformly exerting themſelves to relieve its " diſtreſſes."—The palliating terms, *I propoſed*, and *to aſſiſt government*, will not change the quality or identity of the fact. A propoſal to aſſiſt with a loan, connected with a declaration that it was incumbent on him to yield to it, is a demand, and is exactly the ſame in ſubſtance, though differing, and but little, in expreſſion, from Hyder Beg's ſtate of the fact, which Mr. Briſtow affirms to be " abſolutely falſe." As to the qualifying offer, which Mr. Briſtow ſays he made, employing his influence with the bankers to procure a ſum equal to what it might be in his power to advance, I do not comprehend either the generoſity or object of it. If Hyder Beg Cawn was able to advance the ſum which the bankers were to be influenced to lend, there ſeems to be little occaſion for the uſe of any influence for ſuch a purpoſe, ſince there would be in that caſe no occaſion for the loan; and in whatever ſenſe the offer was made, it was certainly meant that Hyder Beg was to make the advance. Therefore it is fully proved, that Mr. Briſtow did require of Hyder Beg Cawn " that he muſt give five-and-twenty lacks of ru- " pees from his own private property." Mr. Briſtow will not, I hope, avail himſelf of the diſtinction which the forms of ſpeech will afford him, between the terms of gift and loan, ſince it is as notorious, from the ſtate of the Nabob Vizier's reſources, and the demands upon them, as it evidently follows, from the reaſon aſſigned for the demand, that they were in that caſe ſynonymous. As Mr. Briſtow has aſſigned no other ground for this extraordinary tranſaction, but that Hyder Beg, as a ſervant of the ſtate, ought to prove his zeal for it, and that it had for its ſole object the ſervice of the public; and as there is not a ſyllable in my inſtructions that can warrant, by the moſt diſtant conſtruction, ſuch a violation of the principles of common juſtice, I do pronounce it to be a moſt flagitious abuſe of his public truſt, aggravated by his concealment of it from the knowledge of the Board.

Paragraph 5th.—This contains the ſubſtance of the 4th and 9th charges. Hyder Beg Cawn affirms, that Mr. Briſtow

Briſtow required him to write and iſſue a Shooka or mandate, in the name of the Nabob Vizier, without the Vizier's knowledge; "aſſerting, that he had it in command from the Governor-general and Gentlemen of the Council, to act as he ſhould deem proper, without waiting to inform the Nabob, or allowing his meaſures to depend on his Highneſs's pleaſure or diſpleaſure."

To this Mr. Briſtow replies, that "it is moſt true, that the Shooka in queſtion was written without the knowledge of the Vizier: but that it is as true, that it was written by the miniſter alone;" and adds, that in the inſtance of the aſſignment of the Toorkſuvvaurs Hyder Beg had practiſed the ſame forgery, and had iſſued Shookas unknown to the Vizier. What follows muſt be repeated in Mr. Briſtow's own words: "When I underſtood this to have been the caſe, I ſeverely cenſured his behaviour; explaining to him withal the abhorrence with which acts of this nature were regarded by the natives of Europe; and warning him, that ſhould you ever be advertiſed of the tranſaction, he would aſſuredly fall under your heavieſt diſpleaſure; and that my ſilence would depend upon his religiouſly obſerving my injunctions againſt a repetition of ſuch unwarrantable conduct." Had Mr. Briſtow ſtopped here, ſo pointed a denial would at leaſt have left the credit of the fact in ſuſpence; and the prejudice with which every Engliſhman views a conteſt with one of his own countrymen, and a native of Hindoſtan, would have affixed to it a general impreſſion equivalent to a full refutation. But Mr. Briſtow, unfortunately for his own ſafety, purſues his victory with too great precipitation into a field of argument which turns the defeat on himſelf. "You, however, gentlemen (he adds) will judge how well this affected delicacy, with reſpect to the application of the Nabob's ſeal, accords with his having been in *actual* poſſeſſion of it for years, with a diſcretionary power alſo, as he pretends, *freely* granted him by his maſter, to uſe it as he ſhould think fit. Under this ſanction he has ſince reigned with the moſt unbounded authority over the territories of Aſſof ul Dowlah, and in commanding he has ruined them." But if this is a fact of ſuch notoriety, as is implied by the alluſive conſtruction of the ſentence which introduces the mention of it, nor is it eaſy to conceive how ſuch a fact could have exiſted for years without notoriety, and if under this ſanction (that is by uſing the Nabob's ſeal without his knowledge) the miniſter had reigned with the moſt unbounded authority, and ruined the country, it will ſeem very extraordinary that Mr. Briſtow ſhould have felt ſuch ſentiments

of

of abhorrence on the detection of a few recent inſtances of it, and iſſued ſuch peremptory injunctions againſt a repetition of it, on pain of the heavieſt diſpleaſure of our government. If Mr. Briſtow believed that the miniſter poſſeſſed the Nabob's authority for the diſcretionary uſe of his ſeal, it was an abſurdity in terms to charge him with criminality for uſing it. If he knew that the miniſter did not poſſeſs that authority, but knew, as he certainly muſt have known, that the miniſter had been in the practice of this guilt for years, his indignation would have been excited by the falſehood of the miniſter's plea of the neceſſity of applying to the Vizier for his authority to uſe his ſeal, and to iſſue the Shooka. As a corrector of abuſes, he could not have failed to make this the firſt object of his reformation; but by his relation of the caſe, he appears to have ſuffered the long and uninterrupted continuance of it without reproach or notice, and ſuddenly (it appears not on what provocation) reprobates it as a crime regarded with abhorrence by all the natives of Europe, and denounces the ſevereſt judgment and penalties againſt the repetition of it.

But what were the occaſions in which the Nabob's ſeal and mandates were thus fraudulently uſed?—It appears from Mr. Briſtow's own account, in various parts of his correſpondence with Hyder Beg Cawn and the Nabob Vizier, and even his letters to the Board, that it was for the purpoſe or carrying two points, which Mr. Briſtow himſelf had at heart, and firſt urged to the miniſter; namely, to call for the aſſiſtance of regiments of the Company's forces, and to conſtitute new aſſignments for the payment of the Nabob's houſehold troops; two points, to which he knew the Nabob Vizier would object, if they had been propoſed to him; and which form part of the charges preferred by Mr. Briſtow himſelf againſt Hyder Beg Cawn, for his oppoſition to them. Is it poſſible that Hyder Beg Cawn, charged by Mr. Briſtow with ſo perſevering a determination to thwart him in all his meaſures, and availing himſelf of his aſcendency over the Nabob Vizier to that effect, ſhould have committed ſo flagrant an encroachment on the Nabob's ſovereign rights, for the ſake of carrying into execution the meaſures of Mr. Briſtow, of which he himſelf diſapproved, and which he had himſelf oppoſed; that he ſhould hazard the commiſſion of an act ſo repugnant to his intereſt and credit with his maſter, and yet ſuppreſs the knowledge of it from whom Mr. Briſtow himſelf, without he had an undoubted title to ſome merit in the ſacrifice? It is impoſſible; for I affirm

affirm that ſuch a conduct is without example in the whole hiſtory of human nature. Were extraneous proofs wanting, in default of inherent conviction, the letters written to Mr. Briſtow by Hyder Beg Cawn, in which repeated alluſions are made to his having, in obedience to Mr. Briſtow's orders, iſſued Shookas with the Nabob's ſeal, unknown to the Nabob, are of themſelves undeniable evidences of the fact, for Mr. Briſtow admits them without a denial; though it will appear, on the peruſal of his letters, that he dwells with repetition on other matters of infinitely leſs relative moment, and paſſes, without a word of exculpation or reply, the imputation of an act to which he affixes every idea of horror in his application of it to another.

Paragraph 6th.—This paragraph contains the particulars of the ſecond charge. It ſtates, that Mr. Briſtow began by an order to the miniſter to deliver to him the accounts of the Vizier's Kitchen, his Horſes, Elephants, and Camels; that on the miniſter's heſitation to comply with a demand ſo unuſual and offenſive to his maſter, Mr. Briſtow inſiſted, with anger, and ſaid, "I have orders to take poſſeſſion of all papers;" that the miniſter, on this information, complied; that Mr. Briſtow proceeded to the appointment of a treaſurer and comptroller of the Nabob Vizier's houſehold, firſt propoſing it to the Vizier himſelf by meſſage, and afterwards in perſon; that the Nabob Vizier objected, and proteſted againſt the appointments, and againſt Mr. Briſtow's interference in his private expences; that the Nabob, unable to prevail on Mr. Briſtow himſelf, deputed the miniſter to entreat him to deſiſt from his purpoſe, "to aſk him why he thus "perſecuted and depreſſed him;" adding, "the little "which falls to my lot, even that he will not allow me "to eat in peace and quietneſs;" that "this declaration "was accompanied by tears of anguiſh." Mr. Briſtow's anſwer to this meſſage, and his reflections on the ſtate of miſery and humiliation to which he had reduced the Nabob, if they have been fairly ſtated, are equally an outrage to decency and humanity. I will not debaſe my mind with the drudgery of tranſcribing ſo foul a ſubject, nor attempt to abridge what ought, for our national credit, to be alike conſigned to oblivion. The readers of this minute will be furniſhed with the ſame means of reading both the original repreſentation, and Mr. Briſtow's reply; and it will not be difficult for a mind accuſtomed to repreſentations, written under the influence of intereſt, pride, or malevolence, to decompoſe the ſubſtance of each, and ſeparate the truth from the groſſer matters which invelope it. It is ſufficient to my ſubject to mention,

tion, that both the Nabob's prayers, and the interceſſion of the miniſter, were alike unavailing. Mr. Briſtow not only inſiſted on the appointments which he had recommended, but went himſelf to the Vizier for the purpoſe, as he is ſaid to have declared, of "telling him ſo face to "face, and in plain terms;" ſaying, "that his orders "from the gentlemen of the Council were peremptory." The Nabob is aſſerted to have demanded a written copy of the orders; to have bidden him to take his ſeal, and do by force what he thought proper; and to have declared, in the agony of his feelings, and the conſcious ſhame of his degradation, that he would confine himſelf within his apartments, and exclude himſelf from all ſociety. Mr. Briſtow promiſed to give the Nabob a copy of his orders; but remained inflexible to his point, declaring his reſolution to iſſue his own orders to the Aumils for the delivery of their collections, if the Nabob continued to refuſe the authority of Shookas; and that he would keep the treaſury, that is, the treaſury of the Nabob's private expences, in his own hands. I again refer to the original letter, and add my earneſt intreaties, that the candid readers of this minute will take their information from that, and not from this brief and very imperfect ſtate of it, or rather alluſion to it.

I proceed to Mr. Briſtow's reply.—By the introductory quotation of my inſtructions, it would appear, that he avows the charge, and juſtifies it by his preſcribed duty. This quotation conſiſts of extracts from my inſtructions to Mr. Middleton, the preceding Reſident, and from thoſe which were perſonally directed to Mr. Briſtow on his appointment.

The plain deſign and expreſs charge of both was, that the ſum allotted for the Nabob's private expences ſhould be paid in equal monthly inſtallments, and be allowed a preference to every other demand: it was dictated with a ſpirit as oppoſite to Mr. Briſtow's application, as the wideſt extremes of nature. It made a part of a general injunction to treat the Nabob with every poſſible delicacy, conciliation, and attention; and was written purely from the apprehenſion in the deficiency of the public funds not admitting the full payment of the Company's juſt claim, and the calls of his perſonal and neceſſary wants; and may I add, without the hazard of drawing on myſelf a ſevere cenſure from ſuch of my conſtituents as ſhall think that, in the time of their diſtreſſes, my firſt and excluſive care ſhould be given to their relief, than that of having authorized the deprivation of an unhappy prince, whoſe alliance had ſubjected him to a ſervile dependance on the power of this government, that it was

my intention to preclude the operation of ſuch a plea, by directing that the Nabob's perſonal ſhare of his own finances ſhould be fully allotted to him, although the Company's debt remained wholly in balance? Let me be judged with candour. Our alliance has proved the extinction of his ſovereignty, and the impoveriſhment of his country and revenue, and it was but juſt to allow him the means of ſubſiſtence, if no more remained of the reſources of his inheritance.

I cannot ſuppreſs a ſpark of reſentment in repeating Mr. Briſtow's application of my inſtructions in the words immediately following his quotation of them:—"Theſe "are the grounds, gentlemen, upon which I recom-"mended to the Nabob the ſeparation of his public and "private funds," and for that purpoſe, as he afterwards explains it, "the eſtabliſhment of an office of treaſury," which he calls "the execution of an article ſo explicitly "provided for by the treaty;" that is to ſay, that becauſe I had enjoined to Mr. Briſtow a particular care that the Nabob Vizier ſhould, againſt every other exigency, receive the full amount allotted to his private expences, Mr. Briſtow ſhould iſſue Shookas, or mandates, in his own name and ſeal, if the Nabob refuſed the ſanction of his, to the Aumils, for the aſſignment of their collections for a fund of his own appointment; that he ſhould himſelf, or Mr. Cowper for him, or a treaſurer for both (for the arrangement has never been well defined) receive the money of theſe aſſignments; iſſue them as he pleaſed, not to the Nabob, but to the menial officers of his houſehold; diſpoſe of his ſuperfluous horſes and other cattle; determine how many elephants were neceſſary to the ſtate of the Vizier of the Empire; and the number of domeſtics for his attendance; and pry into his kitchen, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the quantity of victuals which ought to be dreſſed in it; that Mr. Briſtow ſhould controul the accounts of theſe diſburſements, and appropriate to his own uſe (for the conſequence is inevitable, if he choſe it) the reſidue produced by theſe œconomical retrenchments. Yet Mr. Briſtow has pretended that he acted by inſtructions from me, and in the execution of a treaty made by me with the Nabob Vizier; and he has had the boldneſs to affirm, that it was "the only meaſure that "could prevent the Nabob from continuing a cypher." —I know not what Mr. Briſtow means by his alluſion to the treaty, which moſt aſſuredly does not contain a ſyllable which can juſtify his conduct; but by the unexampled latitude which he aſſumes in his conſtructions, he may, if he pleaſes, extort this or any other meaning from any part of it.

I ſhall

I ſhall make no other comment on this tranſaction than to obſerve, that the controul which Mr. Briſtow has aſſumed over the Nabob Aſſof ul Dowlah is ſuch as no man living, however mean his rank in life, or dependant his condition in it, would permit to be exerciſed by any other, without the want or forfeiture of every manly principle; and can only be equalled in inſolence with his abetting a young ſervant of the Company, his aſſiſtant, in dictating to the ſovereign of the country the written drafts of his own mandates.

Such is the ſtate to which the Company's influence has reduced one, and the firſt of its allies, and ſuch the example held out to other princes of India, who may be attempted to enſnare themſelves in the ſame connection.

7th Paragraph.—This contains the ſequel of the ſame tranſaction, with the particulars of the 6th Charge, namely, "That he had forcibly aſſembled the Vizier's "Mutteſidies, or official ſervants, at his own houſe, "detaining them eight days, and compelling them to "prepare muſter rolls of the Nabob's Mutayena, or mi-"litia forces; that he had afterwards diſbanded 4,000 "horſe and 7,000 foot of the ſaid troops, declaring his "intention of raiſing Sepoys for the Nabob's ſervice in "their room; and that theſe acts and declarations were "made without the authority of the Nabob, either ob-"tained or ſolicited."

Mr. Briſtow avows the deſign, but affirms that it failed through the oppoſition of the miniſter, and that the reſt of this article "as detailed by the miniſter, is an abſo-"lute romance."—What part of this article Mr. Briſtow means by "*the reſt*," does not appear, ſince no part of his reply expreſsly applies to any part of the charge; but if he was really concerned in any part of the conduct attributed to him, it will not be eaſy to ſeparate it from the reſt, and the whole was unwarranted by his inſtructions.

Paragraph 8.—I have not included this in the liſt of analyzed charges, for I do not underſtand it. It alludes to an attempt made by Mr. Briſtow to remove the miniſter from his office, and to obſcure converſations held with the Nabob Vizier upon it.—And Mr. Briſtow's reply ſeems to have been dictated by ſome ſtrong provocation of anger, the cauſe of which is not apparent; for he begins it with ſaying, "I am new fully convinced, and I "have told your honourable Board ſo, that the ſalvation "of Owde depends upon the diſmiſſion of the miniſter." There the ſentence cloſes.—I can make nothing of it, and leave it.

Paragraph 9th.—This is general, both in charge and defence; yet there is in both an alluſion which I muſt not permit to be loſt. Hyder Beg Cawn ſays, "Such "is Mr. Briſtow's diſpoſition, that he outwardly pro- "feſſes and careſſes, while in reality he is endeavouring "to expel me from my office, and then frequently de- "nies or contradicts his own declarations. In the re- "preſentation which I have made, I have not in any "one inſtance deviated from the truth; and it is a poſi- "tive proof of the reality of many of the particulars, "that Mr. Briſtow did not reply to thoſe which are "ſtated in my anſwer to his letter, but at our next in- "terview aſſumed appearances of affability and good- "will."

This paſſage relates to the Shookas which were iſſued without the knowledge of the Nabob Vizier; and of theſe the hiſtory, as related by Hyder Beg Cawn, is as follows:

The firſt inſtance occured early, the time is immaterial, and therefore I do not trace it. Mr. Briſtow thought it neceſſary to call for the aſſiſtance of the Company's troops from the detachment commanded by Colonel Sir John Cummings, at Futty Ghur. He applied to Hyder Beg Cawn for the Nabob's Shooka or letter, under the Nabob's private ſeal, requiring them, ſuch being the form preſcribed for ſuch occaſions: Hyder Beg Cawn anſwered, that it would be neceſſary to communicate this affair to the Nabob Vizier. Mr. Briſtow aſſented, and ſaid he would ſpeak to him himſelf; but changing his mind, reproachingly ordered Hyder Beg Cawn to cauſe the Shooka to be written, without making any mention of it to the Nabob Vizier; ſaying, that ſuch was the pleaſure of the Governor-general and the gentlemen of the Council. Hyder Beg Cawn, awed by this implied menace, ſubmitted, and gave him the Shooka, with the Nabob's ſeal furtively affixed. This account is thus detailed in the 5th preceding paragraph.

The latter inſtance is thus related:—When Mr. Briſtow aſſumed to himſelf the controul of the Nabob Vizier's houſehold expences, he found the Nabob's body-guard of horſe, which are mentioned by the name of Toorkſawars, greatly in arrears: he, in like manner as before, compelled Hyder Beg Cawn to cauſe Shookas to be written, with the ſeal, and in the name, of the Nabob Vizier, but without his knowledge, to certain Aumils or collectors of the public revenue, commanding them to pay their collections in aſſignment, for the diſcharge of thoſe arrears. The Vizier, having notice of it, was very much offended; and when Mr. Briſtow

preſſed

preſſed him on the ſubject of the appointment of a treaſurer and comptroller of his houſhold, he, after long reſiſtance, yielded, being, as he ſaid, without remedy; but exacted, as a condition, that the Shookas which had been iſſued by Mr. Briſtow ſhould be at the ſame time withdrawn, and others iſſued by himſelf in their ſtead. As it ſeems to have been Mr. Briſtow's practice, whenever he found a difficulty in carrying any of his meaſures into execution, to lay his diſappointment to the account of the miniſter, imputing it either to his ſecret oppoſition, or to want of due exertion; the miniſter, in return, juſtified himſelf againſt theſe imputations, by appeals to inſtances of his obedience, yielded even at the hazard of forfeiting the Nabob's favour, and eſpecially to theſe in queſtion. Theſe appeals from the ſubſtance of his letters to Mr. Briſtow, which ſtand on record of the following dates; viz.

11th of Rubbe ul Owel, or 14th February 1783.
16th — Ditto — 19th Ditto.

The ſame ſubjects are alſo mentioned in a Shooka or letter written by the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Briſtow, and returned by Mr. Briſtow to Hyder Beg Cawn, with a letter dated the 20th Rubbe al Owel, or 23d of February.

The following extracts from the preceding correſpondence will illuſtrate the expoſition which I have given of it, but cannot add to the proofs which have been already exhibited in my remarks on the 5th paragraph, which relate particularly to the ſame ſubject.

Extract of a Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn to Mr. Briſtow, dated the 11th of Rubbeal ul Owel, or 14th February 1783.

"From the moment of your arrival I have not in any "manner been deficient in obedience, but have in every "buſineſs, and without heſitation, fulfilled your com-"mands; as in the important buſineſs reſpecting the re-"giments at Futty Ghur, which you were pleaſed to "direct ſhould not be ſuſpended by attention to the Na-"bob's permiſſion, or by the neceſſity of informing them "thereof."

To this letter Mr. Briſtow made no reply.

Extracts of a Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn to Mr. Briſtow, dated the 16th of Rubbeal Owel, or 19th February 1783.

"And reſpecting the Tunkhaw, which, by the con-"tents of the Shookas which you have cauſed to be

" written to the Aumils, is included in the Tunkhaw " of the Company, and the ſuperintendance of which " has been given to Mr. Cowper, and a ſeparate trea- " ſurer appointed for the ſame, that you will withdraw " this meaſure, and return theſe Shookas, and that " Shookas, reſpecting the Tunkhaw of the Toorkſuwars, " may be written, directing the monies to be tranſmit- " ted to his Highneſs."——" His Highneſs replied to " me in a paſſion, and ſaid, you firſt cauſed Shookas to " be written, including the Tunkaw of the Turkſawars " in that of the Company, and delivered them without " my knowledge; and now that it has been agreed to " return thoſe Shookas, you again counteract it.—I will " not conſent.—Let that which has been agreed to be " performed."——" I repreſented to you in reply, the " things which I had done, both in affairs of import- " ance, and in concerns of leſs moment, both with and " without the knowledge of his Highneſs, in compliance " with your directions, and likewiſe the cauſes of the " delay which had occurred in certain particular affairs; " and I furthermore remarked, that my having wrote " and delivered to you the Shookas reſpecting the Tun- " kaw of the Toorkſawars, in the manner or to the " purport which you had directed them to be written, " without the knowledge of his Highneſs, muſt ſtand " as an inconteſtable proof of my obedience to your com- " mands. And on this account his Highneſs has repeat- " edly upbraided me, demanding to know how I preſum- " ed to cauſe Shookas to be written and delivered without " his knowledge. ❁ I informed you of the Nabob's " diſpleaſure, and you told me to be under no apprehen- " ſion; that what I had done I had done by your orders." ——" Notwithſtanding ſuch proofs and demonſtra- " tions, the written evidence of which ſtill exiſt, you " ſay that profeſſions of duty and obedience, unattended " by the execution of buſineſs, are of no avail."

I muſt take notice that Mr. Briſtow, in the Appendix to his defence, gives a different tranſlation of this letter from that which is entered on the conſultations, and which was not received when the charges againſt him were ſent to him.—In his tranſlation, which is exceed- ingly faulty throughout, the paſſages which I have quot- ed are ſo mutilated, and warped from the real meaning, as to render the tranſaction, of which they are in evi- dence, either too obſcure for application, or almoſt inno- cent. I ſhall inſtance only one ſentence of Mr. Briſtow's tranſlation, anſwering to that above bearing this mark ❁; and I will add the Perſian text in the margin *.

* *In the margin of the original are certain Perſian charac- ters.*

" I ſeveral

" I ſeveral times informed you of the Nabob's diſ-
" pleaſure on this head, and your commands were, that
" I ſhould take no heed of it, ſince the buſineſs muſt be
" ſettled as you had ordained."

There is a wide difference between a declaration ſaid to be made by Mr. Briſtow, that an act already done " muſt be ſettled as he had ordained," which, by the bye, is not reconcileable to common ſenſe, and his acknowledgment, that " it had been done by his orders :" And if this ſophiſtication was not an error unintended, it will be very obvious why it was made, though not yet eaſy to reconcile it with the horror with which Mr. Briſtow pretends to have been affected, when he obtained the firſt information of the act.

I myſelf vouch for the fidelity of the firſt tranſlation, having compared it with the original; and if it is diſputed, I will put it to proof.

To this letter alſo Mr. Briſtow made no reply, aſſigning as a reaſon, " that he had already explained to him " in the plaineſt language his intentions, which he ſtill " wilfully miſunderſtood, and invariably miſrepreſent-" ed;" and " that, having every thing of importance " yet to do, he did not chuſe to engage in a ſilly and " endleſs war of words, or to ſit down ſeriouſly to anſwer " fables, becauſe he choſe to dignify them with the name " of facts."———This is a very eaſy refutation, but not ſuch a one as the magnitude of the charge deſerved, or as would commonly ſuffice to a mind conſcious of its integrity, and ſenſible to the feelings of wounded honour.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Briſtow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated the 10th of Rubbe al Owal, or 23d February 1783.

" His Highneſs deſires that the monies may be kept in
" the Pungmahla, under the charge of the Muttaſeddies
" of the Sircar, and that I will return the Shookas which
" were formerly iſſued concerning the Tuncaw of the
" Toorkſawars, agreeably to his Highneſs's commands.
" —I conſent to both. ——P. S. I ſend back his High-
" neſs's Shookas addreſſed to me, and Sheikh Golaum
" Surroor."

Copy of a Shooka or Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Briſtow, which was returned by Mr. Briſtow to Hyder Beg Cawn with the preceeding Letter.———I cannot extract it.

It may afford a triumph to Mr. Briſtow to have ſuch a proof of " the unprincely ſtyle of the unhappy Aſſof ul
" Dowlah,

" Dowlah, oppoſed to the dignified idea of inſulted ſo-
" vereignty;" but if there is a ſpark of generous vir-
tue in the breaſts of any of my countrymen who ſhall be
the readers of this compilation, this letter ſhall ſtand
for an inſtrument to awaken it to the call of vengeance
againſt ſo flagitious an abuſe of authority, and reproach
of the Engliſh name.

" You deſired that a treaſurer and comptroller might
" be appointed over the diſburſements of the * Dowaub,
" domeſtics, &c. of my houſehold; I rejected, becauſe
" it would reflect diſgrace upon me in the eyes of the
" whole world, ſince it would be apparent that I had no
" longer any authority over my own houſehold, my Do-
" waub, and my domeſtics, &c. at the ſame time that it
" would be productive of no advantage whatever to the
" Engliſh nation.——You inſiſt upon the appointments
" being made from the higheſt to the loweſt; it has ſtill
" been cuſtomary for every one, whatever income his ſi-
" tuation afforded him, to manage the expences of his
" own domeſtics and Dowaub at his diſcretion;—yet,
" ſuch are the events which my fate has brought for-
" wards, that a new treaſurer and comptroller are about
" to be appointed over my houſehold, domeſtics, and
" Dowaub.—The infant that has aught in his hand, will
" weep if it is forced from him.—I alſo underſtand what
" is and what is not for my advantage; and I now with
" humility tell you, that if for my ſatisfaction, and out
" of friendſhip for me, you will deſiſt from this meaſure,
" you will confer a favour upon me; but in caſe it is
" your pleaſure that it ſhall be ſo, I am without reſource
" —make the appointments.——Yet, at leaſt, let thus
" much of appearances be preſerved, that the monies for
" the Jaidaud Mahals, for the Dowaub domeſtics, and
" houſehold diſburſements, and for the Tunkaw of the
" Toorkſawars, may be tranſmitted to the place where
" I reſide, and ſeparately delivered into the charge of
" my people.—— The monies on account of the Dowaub
" and houſehold expences ſhall be iſſued by Dawaugau-
" daſs the treaſurer, and Mahomed Haſſan, comptroller,
" and Tahakoordaſs the comptroller's Paiſhkot, under
" my directions or authority; and the Tuncaw of the
" Toorkſawars, correſponding to the regulations and
" practices of this Surcor, ſhall be iſſued to them as
" formerly by Rajah Tippar Chund; and that you will
" return the Shookas, which you cauſed to be written
" without my knowledge, concerning the Tuncaw of

* *This word muſt not be confounded with the province of the ſame name. It means only cattle of different kinds.*

" the

" the Toorkſawars, directing the monies to be included " in and remitted with the Tuncaw of the Company; " and that you will hereafter, as my friend, write to the " Governor-general, and requeſt his orders to aboliſh " the appointments of the new treaſurer and comptroller " which are about to be made."

10th Paragraph.——This contains the 7th Charge; namely, the appointment of Mahomed Beg, a trooper, to the Sezawlee of Furruckabad, by Mr. Briſtow's order, againſt the remonſtrance of the miniſter, and the Nabob Vizier's diſapproval.—I paſs the reſt, which is but a repetition of former charges.

Mr. Briſtow, in anſwer, refers the Board to his addreſs of the 30th January 1783, for proof " that he al- " ways conſidered the appointment of a Sezawel to Fer- " ruckhabad, as a deſperate alternative, but it was the " only one; that he therefore acquieſced in it when " urgently recommended by the miniſter, and was happy " to find that acquieſcence honoured and confirmed by " our approbation."

It is very true that Mr. Briſtow did inform the Board of this appointment, and obtained their approbation of it; and ſo he might of any other tranſaction, however unexceptionable, by ſuppreſſing every information which could render it ſuch. He repreſented this appointment, and his participation in it, as the effect of the deſperate ſtate of the Company's aſſignment on the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, the oppreſſions exerciſed by the former Naib Mahomed Saced Cawn, the complaints of the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, and the urgent requeſt of the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter. My inſtructions to Mr. Briſtow were, to abſtain entirely from all interference in the tranſactions of the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter with the Nabob Muzuffer Jung; but neither could I nor the Board take any reaſonable offence at his interference, when he apologized for it, grounding it not only on abſolute neceſſity, but on the united and urgent wiſhes of the Nabob Vizier, his minſter, and the Nabob Mozuffur Jung, whom it principally regarded.

The Nabob Vizier and Hyder Beg Cawn, both repreſent it as an act of Mr. Briſtow's own choice, and executed by his own authority, and againſt the will both of the Nabob Vizier, and of his miniſter. Theſe are ſtrong contradictions; but I cannot trace them to any proof, except the following paſſage in a letter from Mr. Briſtow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated the 8th of Seffer, or 13th January 1783, which I think a ſtrong one:—" Conſidering " the bad ſtate of affairs at Furruckhabad, it is neceſſary " that Mirza Mahomed Beg ſhould receive his diſmiſſion

" as

" as ſoon as poſſible. He will be introduced to you by " this letter. You will give him his diſmiſſion to-day, " and in ſuch a manner that it may be known to every " one."

This letter, urging the diſpatch of the new Sezawall, giving him his introduction as if a ſtranger to the miniſter, and preſcribing the mode of his appointment, does not very well agree with the paſſive and reluctant part which Mr. Briſtow aſcribes to himſelf in the tranſaction; but is more likely to be underſtood by an uninformed reader as the addreſs of a principal urging a point to another leſs inclined to the acceptance of it: and with this conſtruction I muſt leave it until Mr. Briſtow can furniſh a better.

11th Paragraph.—This requires no comment on either ſide.

12th Paragraph.—This is not a charge, but a prayer to be freed from the oppreſſions of the Reſident, with the acceptance of the Nabob's offer of the ſecurity of creditable bankers for the punctual diſcharge of the Company's demands. This, by a moſt extraordinary perverſion of reaſoning, is ſeized by Mr. Briſtow as a clear refutation of all the charges which had been preferred by Hyder Beg Cawn againſt him; but the Nabob Vizier has himſelf propoſed the offer, and has complained againſt Mr. Briſtow, in language expreſſive of as much keener ſenſibility, as his ſufferings exceed the vaxations exerciſed on his miniſter.

It is natural for a man labouring under any grievance to wiſh for the removal of the cauſe of it; and it is proverbial, that even the poor worm will turn with the impatience of anguiſh on the foot that cruſhes it; but it was never before inferred, that a deſire to be delivered from the power and preſence of an oppreſſor, was an evidence againſt the exiſtence of the oppreſſion.

I ſhall here cloſe my obſervation on Mr. Briſtow's replies to Hyder Beg Cawn's firſt letter, and proceed to the examination of Mr. Briſtow's letter, addreſſed to the Board, of the 13th May, which contains the particulars of the 11th charge, namely, " that he had attempted to " carry into execution a plan for the adminiſtration of " juſtice, and had inveſted Mr. Cowper with extraordi- " nary and undefined powers for receiving complaints " from the ſubjects of the Nabob Vizier, and ſuperſcrib- " ing them with orders in the ſtyle of mandates from the " Nabob Vizier, for the redreſs of the complainants."

I have already ſaid, that I conſidered this letter as an anticipation of the complaints which Mr. Briſtow knew had been made againſt him, but which he had not received,

nor

nor indeed were they ſent to him till the 29th of the ſame month. Whatever advantage may be derived from the title of having been the firſt complainant, it has certainly ſome in its influence on common judgments, and this perhaps ariſes from the conſtruction which every man inſtinctively affixes to recriminated accuſations, as being the effects of a vindictive principle, and therefore liable at leaſt to exaggeration. This letter has very much this appearance, for it has all the characteriſtic forms and qualities of a ſyſtematic attack. It begins with an accumulated, though general, reprobation of the conduct and character of Hyder Beg Cawn—it proceeds to the circumſtantial detail of a ſpecific fact, and concludes with a prayer for his diſmiſſion from office. Mr. Briſtow's mode of writing renders it an attempt of difficulty to reduce the ſubſtance of his unconnected and often unapplied periods to preciſe facts or propoſitions, on which I can depend for their certain relation to them. If, therefore, I ſhall err in my conſtruction of them, the fault is not intentionally mine, but the effect of the obſcurity of the text, which I am compelled to explain before I can make the proper uſe of it.

Of the letter, which conſiſts of four ſmall ſheets of paper, the two firſt, and part of the third, contain only general poſitions, which may be compriſed within the two following brief articles:

1ſt. That Hyder Beg Cawn had rejected all Mr. Briſtow's "frankeſt offers of friendſhip and confidence," and 2d, had obſtinately and contumaciouſly oppoſed all his "innovations," which he is pleaſed to call in his firſt, though not the moſt reſpectful application of my official title, the wiſe ſyſtem preſcribed by the honourable "the Governor-general." The means by which the miniſter is enabled to maintain ſo powerful an oppoſition, are ſummarily aſcribed to "the influence of his power, "his talents, and his wealth," and in a more large detail to his aſcendency over the mind of the Nabob Vizier his maſter. His account of this effect is curious, and contradicts every phyſical as well as moral principle, which is ſuppoſed to regulate the actions or ſtimulate the paſſions of mankind. The Nabob, he ſays, deteſts this miniſter from a declared conviction that the miniſter has reduced his provinces to deſolation, and his court to a "ſpeaking picture of penury, nakedneſs, and famine." Yet that the Nabob ſupports his miniſter againſt all Mr. Briſtow's endeavours to free him from ſo abject a thraldom, to give peace, order, and plenty to his country, and to adminiſter an abundance for the relief of all his perſonal wants—becauſe the miniſter is yet in poſſeſſion of his finances,

finances, and by dealing them to his maſter with a ſparing and artful œconomy, which Mr. Briſtow calls "alternately exerting his hopes and fears," he "prevents the "Nabob from adopting any firm and dignified reſolution;" and this philoſophical ſolution he concludes in the following words: "Theſe paſſions (*i. e.* hopes and fears) whilſt "in equilibrium over the mind, keep it heſitating and "undetermined, the reſolutions of deſpair alone are unqualified and deciſive." I ſhall leave this doctrine to work its own effect, and proceed to the ſpecific inſtance, which ſeems introduced to prove the general charge of Hyder Beg Cawn's oppoſition to Mr. Briſtow's innovations.

This, as I with difficulty collect it from the letter and its encloſures, of which the letter is little more than a comment, is as follows:

In my inſtructions to Mr. Middleton, I directed him to urge the Nabob Vizier to endeavour gradually, if it could not be done at once, to eſtabliſh courts of juſtice throughout his diſtricts. Mr. Middleton, who had ſhewn little attention to any article of my inſtructions, appears to have taken not the leaſt notice of this, till a ſhort time before his recall, and when he moſt probably expected it. It was then, and not till then, that without any recent ground aſſigned for it, or advice given to me or the Board, of the meaſure, or of his intention preceding it, he prevailed upon the Nabob Vizier to appointed a man named Morolevy Mobein to the office of Sudder ul Stuck, or chief adminiſtrator of juſtice to the city of Lucknow, and the dominions of the Nabob of Owd; but without any aſſignment of power, local office, or ſalary; and the poor man himſelf ſeems to have felt the humiliating conſciouſneſs of his inſufficiency for ſo elevated a dignity, to which the laſt ſtep of his promotion was the profeſſion of a ſchool maſter, which had occupied the greateſt part of a life already far ſpent. To this feeble inſtrument Mr. Briſtow had early reſource, for the eſtabliſhment of a new regulation for the general adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the Nabob's dominions; although it does not appear, from the letters either of Mr. Briſtow or of Mr. Cowper, to whom Mr. Briſtow appealed for the explanation of his inſtructions, that he had ever formed any preciſe or defined plan reſpecting it, for both allude to it as intended for the inſtitution of "proper courts of juſtice," yet both ſtyle it "a Fowjdarry Adawlet," which is a court inſtituted for the trial of criminal offences; and Mr. Briſtow in his correſpondence generally confounds it with the office of "police of the city," which is commonly the charge

charge of Cutwall, and never aſſigned to the court of juſtice either civil or criminal.

The means uſed by Mr. Briſtow to carry this plan into execution mark no great extenſion of deſign, or effort of invention;—the account which he himſelf gives of his progreſſive acts in this buſineſs is, that very early after his arrival he deſired the miniſter to eſtabliſh the Fowjdarry Adawlet upon a reſpectful footing; that he next applied for the appointment of a houſe to hold the court: that all the Nabob Vizier's houſes being occupied (for Mr. Briſtow ſays, that the miniſter had purpoſely filled them with lumber, to ſerve as an excuſe for withholding them) the miniſter allotted a tent for the uſe of the Mowlevy. At length a houſe was allowed him, but he did not like it, becauſe it was "ſituated in the center of the palace, "where his proceedings would be ſubject to reſtraint, "the place itſelf too confined," and ſome of the Nabob's effects remaining in it. The correſpondence encloſed by Mr. Briſtow ſhews that he too thought the houſe too ſmall, and that the miniſter maintained a contrary opinion, but would apply for another; that both concurred in opinion of the unfitneſs of the tent for a court of juſtice—the miniſter praying for time to get a houſe: that Mr. Briſtow required the court to be held in the city—and the miniſter pleaded the Nabob's orders for its being held in the palace, with other queſtions of the like moment; but that on a firm declaration made by Mr. Briſtow, that he would appeal to the Governor-general and Council, the miniſter implicitly ſubmitted, affirming, at the ſame time, that he had never diſputed Mr. Briſtow's order. In the ſame period of time another ſource of difference aroſe, which is moſt imperfectly connected with the ſame ſubject, and is thus explained by Mr. Cowper, in reply to an appeal made to him by Mr. Briſtow for that purpoſe. That Mr. Briſtow "recommended to the Nabob Vizier the immediate in-"ſtitution of a Fowjdarry Adawlet at Lucknow;"—that Mr. Briſtow's "ſole motive in this recommendation "(if Mr. Cowper had not utterly miſunderſtood him) "was to reſtore peace and order to the capital, and ſe-"curity to its inhabitants;"—that as the Governor-general had himſelf mentioned the want of proper courts of juſtice, as a cauſe of great evils, but adviſed much caution in their introduction; and as both Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper apprehended "danger from the abrupt "application of the remedy, when the evil was univerſal," Mr. Briſtow, whoſe "attention was engaged by objects "of more immediate importance," requeſted, "that Mr. "Cowper would enquire and endeavour to aſcertain how "far a reformation, ſo neceſſary to the proſperity and "happineſs

" happineſs both of the prince and people, might be ef-
" fected with the leaſt poſſible inconvenience and delay."
—That " in conformity to Mr. Briſtow's wiſhes, he ſent
" for Mowlevy Mobein, who had received his (Mr.
" Briſtow's) inſtructions to aſſiſt him, propoſing to enter
" with him into ſuch explanations as " might afford him
" an idea of the ſyſtem of juriſprudence then eſtabliſhed
" there;" but the Mowlevy aſſured him, that " there
" was not, nor had been for years, even the ſhadow of a
" police;" that his appointment was " a mockery, and
" himſelf a pageant."——After much diſcuſſion of the unfitneſs of ſuch a man as the Mowlavy (a ſchoolmaſter) " to diſpenſe law to a whole people, and to unite, in his " perſon, the civil and criminal juriſdiction of ſuch ex-
" tenſive countries," which he ſays was an indication of the diſpoſition of the miniſter, too plain to be miſtaken, he adds, " I muſt confeſs, I drew a concluſion from it " that at once induced me to augur very ill of our un-
" dertaking, and determined me to proceed in it with all " warineſs and circumſpection." The iſſue was, that after very mature deliberation, he adviſed Mr. Briſtow " to confine his views for the preſent to the inſtitution of " a Fowjdarry court for the capital only" (which I muſt obſerve he had before mentioned as the original inſtitution, and actually formed)—that Mr. Briſtow took his advice, and obtained the Nabob's aſſent, and his appointment of Mowlavy Mobein to preſide in the court, now limited to the capital; " and here," ſays he, " the matter ſtill reſts " to this hour, and to this hour the inhabitants of Luck-
" now are left in a condition of licentiouſneſs, very near " approaching to a ſtate of nature."

I have recapitulated Mr. Cowper's account of his commiſſion, but I profeſs that I do not underſtand the drift either of the appointment, or of his explanation of it. What gave occaſion for the latter, was this:—Mr. Cowper, by ſome commiſſion from Mr. Briſtow, received petitions from the inhabitants, to which he affixed orders, in the formal ſtyle of mandates from the Nabob Vizier, for the redreſs of the petitioners. This, Mr. Briſtow ſaid, had been miſrepreſented as a ſuperintendance of the court of Adawlet, and an uſurpation of his Excellency's right of ſovereignty;—and he therefore called upon Mr. Cowper, in writing, to " ſtate the inſtructions which he " had received from Mr. Briſtow on this occaſion, and " his proceedings in conſequence;" and " explain his " conduct relative to ſuch petitions as Mr. Briſtow might " have referred to him." The ſum of Mr. Cowper's explanation is, if I conceive it rightly, that he received from

from Mr. Briſtow neither appointment nor inſtruction, nor performed any act relative to either.

With reſpect to the petition, he ſays, and prefaces what he ſays with calling it "the undiſguiſed ſtate of the caſe," "that as the petitions were referred to him he had them "read, and directed Hoſſein Alla Cawn to write upon "the face of them ſeverally an order, ſuch as, had it "finally reſted with him to ſettle them, he ſhould have "iſſued upon the occaſion, and then bade him carry "them to the miniſter;" "not," he adds, "that the "Vizier's zeal ſhould be affixed," but "that the mini-"ſter ſhould decide upon the propriety of his ideas, and "ultimately reject or adopt them, as he ſaw fit." This the miniſter was to know inſtinctively, as it appears from what immediately follows: "and I choſe this mode of "communicating them rather than by letter, becauſe it "was the ſimpleſt and readieſt, &c." He then refers to one of the petitions, which he incloſes; and I will inſert it here, with two others furniſhed by Hyder Beg Cawn, for their curioſity.

[Mr. Cowper's Superſcription.]

Sheik Durgauhee,
Naib of Rodurmun Sokul,
having made himſelf acquainted
with the contents of Erzee, muſt
enquire into the ſame; in caſe
the grievance is founded in fact,
let him redreſs it, and ſend a Rau-
zee Naumeeh to the preſence.

The renowned Nuvvaub, the Diſpenſer of Juſtice to the Age.

Buddim Sing is Kannoongo, of the Purgunnah of Dur-reaabad, Munſa Sing, Jemadar of the Mouza of Sha-poor, has confined the brother of your ſlaves for theſe eleven months paſt unjuſtly, and without cauſe, and will not ſet him at liberty; the reaſon is, that during the Au-mildarre of Setul Chund, the diſmiſſed Aumil of the Jagheers, he entered into an agreement for the above

Mouza or diſtrict, under the ſecularity of the ſaid Kaunoongo: he has moreover plundered our property, and razed our habitation. We hope from your goodneſs and favour that our brother may obtain his liberty, and that we may, agreeably to juſtice, receive back the property, goods, grain, &c. which he has plundered.

Concludes as uſual.

Erzee of Lelik Sing
and Derbaud Sing.

[Mr. Cowper's Superſcription, in the Hand Writing of his Moonſhy.]

Let orders be iſſued to Jaunibeg not to moleſt the habitations of the widows, but make good the injury he has done them.

Erzee to the Nuvvaub the Diſpenſer of Juſtice, &c.

Sets forth, That Jauni Beg unjuſtly, and by force and violence, hath ſeized upon the dwellings of certain widows. You are the protector of the poor. Whatever may be your determination in behalf of the widows, be pleaſed to declare it. We have no other refuge but you, &c. He formerly pulled down four or five houſes, and he has now prohibited water from being carried to four or five others.

Signed, Erzee of the Widows.

[In the Hand Writing of Mr. Cowper's Moonche.]

Let orders be iſſued to Fakeer Chund not to injure and oppreſs without cauſe, but ſet the ſons in law of Haujee Aka Mahummed a liberty and write an account of the circumſtances reſpecting them to the preſence.

Sets

Sets forth, that the ſons in law to Hajee Aukau Mahummed have been confined in priſon during the whole of the laſt year: from the time of Fakur Chund's appointment, he has treated them with the utmoſt ſeverity, even to the prohibiting their food from being brought to them. —We had rented the Purgunnah of Aali Gunge for three years.—four months of the Fuſſull of Hurref remained when we were turned out: all that was received to that period was paid; and if we had continued through the Hurreef Fuſſul, the remainder would have been paid. We are in no ſhape guilty.—We hope from your favour and goodneſs, that in your kindneſs to the poor and the helpleſs you will ſet them at liberty, &c.

Signed,
The Erzee of the family of
Hagee Auka Mahummed.

Let thoſe who will, comment on this tranſaction. It was a groſs and moſt indecent attempt to dictate to the Vizier of the empire the words of his own mandates, which the Vizier was to copy from Mr. Cowper's draft, and iſſue without a knowledge of the ſubject. It is an inſult to common ſenſe to impoſe any other conſtruction upon it.

Mr. Briſtow's motives for giving theſe extraordinary authorities, and enforcing them with ſo many angry movements, is more extraordinary than the acts themſelves; and I muſt own that I firſt read them with an idea which no conſequent act has effaced, that he wrote them under the conviction that he might write what he pleaſed, in the aſſurance of its being favourably accepted.

I have already mentioned the inſtructions which I gave to Mr. Middleton, relating to the introduction of courts of juſtice in the Nabob Vizier's dominions, which will be found, on a liberal examination of them, to have been dictated under doubts of its expediency. In my inſtructions to Mr. Briſtow, written with a fuller and recent experience, I expreſſed thoſe doubts in terms, aſſigning many ſtrong reaſons for entertaining them, and concluded with recommending the ſubject to his enquiry, but without venturing to give him any inſtructions concerning it. Mr. Briſtow, in a letter which he wrote on the 12th December, profeſſedly intended as a detail of his tranſactions and intentions reſpecting the execution of my inſtructions, adopts all my concluſions; and adds to them other arguments, much ſtronger, againſt the inſtitution of Adawlets; and ſo much ſtronger, that theſe alone ought to have deterred him from attempting it. He cloſes the ſubject with the following words:

" I would, however, propoſe, that Moulavy Mobein, " the man recommended by Mr. Middleton, ſhould con- " tinue with the name of Sudder ul Huck; and when " regularly ſhall be introduced into other branches of the " government, the extenſion of his power will form part " of the plan."

Theſe are the authorities which Mr. Briſtow quotes from his attempt to introduce the eſtabliſhment of his plan, whatever it was, for the adminiſtration of juſtice; and they are inſerted at full length in the third number of the appendix to his letter. I appeal to the ſame authorities, for the proof that I gave him no inſtructions to inſtitute courts of juſtice; and that he had therefore no authority to attempt it; that he himſelf declared it to be improper; and by his own interpretation of my inſtructions, gave them the force of orders prohibiting any ſuch attempt; that by ſuch a declaration, concluding with a recommendation to ſuffer the nominal appointment to ſubſiſt, without any ſubſtantial application of it, he certainly intended to convey to me the aſſurance inevitably implied by it, that he would himſelf attempt nothing beyond the appointment; and that, by attempting it, he has conſequently been guilty of the double charge of diſobedience of orders and deception.

I have now gone through the examination of the charges againſt Mr. Briſtow, and of his anſwers to them, according to the order in which he has himſelf arranged them. I ſhall not attempt, by any recapitulation of them, to point out the ſtrength of the former, or the inſufficiency of the latter. I ſhall leave both to make their own impreſſion; and doubt not that they will neceſſarily produce, in the minds of others, a conviction which they have produced in my own, that the truth of every charge againſt Mr. Briſtow is either poſitively or preſumptively eſtabliſhed, even by the authorities which he has himſelf produced to refute them.

I myſelf am perſonally aggrieved by Mr. Briſtow's conduct and pretenſions. Every accumulation of his guilt is doubled by the attempt to fix the original charge of it upon me. In his declarations to the Nabob Vizier, to the Miniſter, and even in his addreſſes to the Board, he appeals to my inſtructions, as the rule and warrant of his actions. To diſprove this, I need only to appeal to my inſtructions themſelves: theſe had one eſſential object,—the diſcharge of the arrears due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, with his growing debt; and every article of them had a regard either to the means of rendering this effectual, or to the cautions requiſite in the exerciſe of an unavowed influence, in the place of a lawful authority.

rity. The means by which our government acquired this influence, and its right to exerciſe it, will require a previous explanation: both originated in our connection with the Nabob Suja Dowla. I found him a dependant on the Company, or rather on the Commander in Chief of the army. Under the authority of the Council of which I was the preſident, in the year 1773, I concluded a treaty with him, which left him optionally free, but virtually dependant on our government, by the reciprocal obligations of it, which on our part conſiſted in military aſſiſtance whenever he demanded it; and on his, the payment of a monthly ſubſidy for the expences attending it. He remained the abſolute ſovereign of his own dominions; and whenever he found the preſence of our army, or the aſcendant of our alliance, too powerful for his eaſe or dignity, he might free himſelf from both, by the diſmiſſion of the former. But the neceſſity of his affairs rendered it unſafe or inconvenient to part with it, as was evinced by the experiment of a few months, in which the army was remanded to our frontier, and again recalled for his ſervice; and thus its attachment to him, and the kind of tribute which he paid for the uſe of it, were rendered permanent, but in ſuch a mode, as conduced to his intereſt and ſafety, without a diminution of perſonal conſequence. He was himſelf the inſtrument of forming this relation; he left the advantages of it; he experienced nothing humiliating in the ſuperiority of the part aſſigned to our government in it; and in the ſhort interval which followed the conſtruction of it, two rich and extenſive members were added to his paternal dominions, beſides that which he acquired with it. Let me add, without the imputation of aſſuming too much ſelf-conſequence, that my perſonal behaviour to him was unvariably marked by a ſtudied reſpect. In public, I addreſſed him as my acknowledged ſuperior; in private, for only one perſon was ever privy to our conferences, I made my demands in firm but decent language; exacted his compliance, by ſtating the grounds of our mutual neceſſities, without either concealment or exaggeration; and obtained, with his chearful and moſt willing conceſſion, the beſt acceſſion of a new dominion, a portion of the wealth of a valuable and remote territory, without the burthen of its adminiſtration. He parted from me contented; and if I may truſt to thoſe aſſurances which my ſtation may be ſuſpected to have extorted from private adulation, he publicly and frequently acknowledged the obligations which he owed to me; and even in his laſt moments recurred to them, in the line of conduct

which he recommended to his ſon and ſucceſſor, the preſent Nabob Aſſof u' Dowla.

With his death a new political ſyſtem commenced, and Mr. Briſtow was conſtituted the inſtrument of its formation, and truſtee for the management of it. The Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah was deprived of a large part of his inheritance, I mean the province of Benares, attached by a very feeble and precarious tenure to our dominions; the army fixed to a permanent ſtation in a remote line of his frontier, with an augmented and perpetual ſubſidy; a new army, amphibiouſly compoſed of troops in his ſervice and pay, commanded by Engliſh officers of our own nomination, for the defence of his new conqueſts; and his own natural troops annihilated or alienated by the inſufficiency of his revenue for all his diſburſements, and the prior claims of thoſe which our authority or influence commanded; in a word he became a vaſſal of the government: but he ſtill poſſeſſed an oſtenſible ſovereignty, his titular rank of Vizier of the empire rendered him a conſpicuous object of view to all the ſtates and chiefs of India; and on the moderation and juſtice with which the Britiſh government in Bengal exerciſed its influence over him, many points moſt eſſential to its political ſtrength, and to the honour of the Britiſh name, depended.

This is not a place, nor have I room in it, to prove what I ſhall here content myſelf with affirming, that by a ſacred and undeviating obſervance of every principle of public faith, the Britiſh dominion might have by this time acquired the means of its extenſion, through a virtual ſubmiſſion to its authority, to every region of Hindoſtan and Deccan. I am not ſure that I ſhould adviſe ſuch a deſign, were it practicable, which at this time it certainly is not; and I very much fear that the limited formation of ſuch equal alliances as might be uſeful to our preſent condition, and conduce to its improvement, is become liable to almoſt unſurmountable difficulties. Every power in India muſt wiſh for the ſupport of ours, but they all dread the connection.

The ſubjection of Bengal, and the deprivation of the family of Jaffier Ally Cawn, though an effect of inevitable neceſſity, the preſent uſurpations of the rights of the Nabob Wallar Jau, in the Carnatic, and the licentious violations of the treaty exiſting between the Company and the Nabob Nizam ul Dowla, though checked by the remedial interpoſition of this government, ſtand as terrible precedents againſt us. The effects of our connection with the Nabob Aſſof o Dowla had a rapid tendency to the ſame conſequences, and it has been my invariable

ſtudy

ſtudy to prevent it, by the removal or reſtriction of every authority or influence derived from our government which interfered with his, and by the promiſe of whatever means I might poſſeſs for withdrawing that interpoſition of it in the internal management of his affairs, which we exerciſed in the aſſignments made of portions of his revenue for the payment of the Company's debts, whenever he ſhould either have diſcharged them, or could afford a ſecurity for their payment. It is not unknown to the members of the Board, who compoſed it in the beginning of the year 1781, how much it was my wiſh, even then, to return on a new commiſſion to the reſidence of the Nabob of Owd, provided I could be entruſted with powers to make ſuch an accommodation, for his finances were daily diminiſhing; the preſence of the repreſentative of our government enfeebled that of the Nabob in its executive acts, and all the provinces of his dominions were gradually ſinking into decline, the reproach of which, even from our own countrymen, was caſt upon our government as the cauſe of it.

Unfortunately, the Nabob Vizier wanted the requiſite talents for buſineſs. His underſtanding, though far under-rated in the common opinion of it, was deficient in many other requiſite qualities of government; but it was united with a gentleneſs of manners, a ſuſceptibility of kindneſs, and a pliancy of will, which might, in proper hands, conſtitute an equivalent to them. It was in my reliance on the effect of theſe qualities that I ſolicited, and in their effect obtained from him, in return for my conceſſions, his agreement to the admiſſion of the aſſiſtance of the Reſident, in the charge then ſpecially given to his miniſter, of his finances and public diſburſements. Diſſatisfied with the conduct of Mr. Middleton, the Reſident to whom this charge was firſt committed, and of his deputy, Mr. Johnſon, to whom he delegated it, I formed the reſolution of naming Mr. Briſtow to it in their ſtead. To this I had various and powerful inducements. The firſt and principal was, the reiterated order of the court of Directors for his appointment: ſecondly, the wiſh of the other members of the Council urging it: thirdly, their declarations of uniting to ſupport my authority, and other concurrent circumſtances removing the objections which had hitherto oppoſed it: fourthly, a reliance on the perſonal gratitude of Mr. Briſtow, for my optional nomination of him to ſo important a truſt: and, fifthly, his aſſurances, and a pledge given me for the performance of them, in which I then repoſed a religious confidence:—I propoſed, and the Board agreed to his appointment, leaving it to me to give his inſtructions. Theſe

were accordingly delivered, firſt verbally, but accompanied with heads in writing for his remembrance, in a diſcourſe which occupied four hours of my time, when I was yet too ill to write, and they were afterwards dictated, for I continued unable to write them; and having received the approbation of the Board, they were tranſmitted to him on the 24th of October. I have detailed the proceſs of this affair to ſhew, at leaſt, the improbability of Mr. Briſtow's miſunderſtanding my intentions reſpecting the line of conduct which he was to purſue, if theſe were really contrary to that which he did adopt. Hitherto the Reſident had never interfered beyond advice and perſuaſion. I myſelf never affected a higher claim; nor had I a ſuſpicion that Mr. Briſtow would go beyond it; it therefore never occurred to me to guard againſt it. On the contrary, I will freely confeſs, and I am aſhamed of it, I yielded to him an implicit confidence. As to my inſtructions, and their real objects, I affirm, that they have been wholly neglected; nor has any uſe been made of them but to pervert them to deſigns of which I know not the authority, nor can deviſe any other end but private *rapacity*. In one inſtance, indeed, he may appear to conform to them, which is in his diſagreements with the miniſter, with whoſe conduct I was certainly much offended on the occaſions which had afforded me ſo much offence againſt Mr. Middleton; and I therefore warned him to keep a watchful eye on Hyder Beg Cawn, and I ſpoke of him in terms which marked great diſtruſt of his principles, and diſlike of his character. Whether I was right or wrong in my judgment, I will not now attempt to determine: I certainly erred in the unreſerved manner in which I communicated it, ſince it has been ſo frequently and powerfully retorted upon me: but Hyder Beg Cawn is not the object of this diſcuſſion. Let his former conduct have been what it would, it will not juſtify Mr. Briſtow in acts done conſequent to it, and independent of it. Let his preſent conduct be what it will, it will not warrant Mr. Briſtow's uſurpation of an authority which was never entruſted to him, and in the commiſſion of inſults and indignities to a ſovereign prince, united by treaty to the Company and to the Britiſh nation. There is not a ſyllable of my inſtructions which will admit of a conſtruction of a power to aſſume any authority whatever in the adminiſtration of the Nabob Vizier. The only paſſage which I find, in a recent ſearch, to bear any thing like a tendency to it, is the cloſe of the 13th Article; in which, ſpeaking of the dangerous abuſe which the Beegums had made of their Jagheers, I direct him to remonſtrate in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt their reſtoration;

and

and I add, that he "muſt not *permit it* until this govern-"ment ſhall have information of it;" but how far even this expreſſion was from conveying the idea of his exerciſing an authority over the Nabob, will be demonſtrated by the expreſſed purpoſe of the communication, in the words immediately following; viz. "and ſhall have had "time to *interpoſe its influence* for the prevention of it." This extract will ſhew, that in a caſe which I deemed of the utmoſt conſequence to the ſafety of the Nabob's dominions, and of our political intereſts, in this inſtance more nearly than any other connected with it, I did not conceive that even the Governor-general and Council, in their collective capacity, had a right to interfere with authority; but could only make uſe of the means of perſuaſion, or, as it is expreſſed "to interpoſe their influence," for preventing the evils which we ſuppoſed; and can it be believed, that I ſhould inveſt Mr. Briſtow with powers of which I diſavowed the uſe myſelf, and denied the exerciſe of them to the adminiſtration of which I was the firſt member?

The article reſpecting the Nabob Vizier begins with an injunction "to ſtudy, on every occaſion, to conciliate "his good-will, and to ſhew him every oſtenſible and "external mark of reſpect." I expreſſed "my hope, "that he would not find it difficult to make the Nabob "himſelf the mover of every act neceſſary, whether for "the advancement of his own intereſts, or the diſcharge "of his debt to the Company." I recommended to him to endeavour to win the Nabob's confidence from Hyder Beg Cawn; and I remember uſing this, or a very like expreſſion, in my verbal inſtructions.—"Be you his mi-"niſter, and make yourſelf his advocate, and the vindi-"cator of his rights, if his preſent miniſter ſhall injure "them." And I ſtrictly enjoined a preference of the Nabob's claim to the ſum allotted to his perſonal expences before any other, little imagining that this clauſe would be perverted to a virtual but effectual deprivation of the uſe of it.

The advice which I thus pointedly recommended to Mr. Briſtow was ſuch as I ſhould have purſued myſelf, had I been in his ſituation, and with a well-grounded expectation of ſucceeding in attaining the preſcribed objects of it; for I have myſelf experienced what might be effected by conciliation in ſituations the ſame as his, and in others not diſſimilar from it, and on minds more difficult than the meek ſpirit of the Nabob Aſoph u Dowlah; for I never found either the acute apprehenſions and quick ſuſceptibility of Meer Coſſim, nor the pride and manly ſenſe of the Nabob Suja Dowla, impenetrable to argu-

ments

mentsa pplied to their intereſts, and delivered with truth and plain dealing, which were all the arts I ever uſed in my political negociations.

But I have a further proof, and an unanſwerable one, that I never had, nor could have had, any deſign in any commiſſion given to Mr. Briſtow, either hoſtile to the Nabob Vizier, or offenſive to his feelings, without ſuch a profligacy of character as muſt have been marked by the whole tenor of my life according with it. When I mentioned to Mr. Briſtow my intention of appointing him to the reſidency of Lucknow, I at the ſame time informed him, that I could not yet effect it, until I had an aſſurance that it would be acceptable to the Nabob Vizier, not knowing whether, from former tranſactions, the Nabob might not have a perſonal exception to him; and I therefore directed him to apply by letter to the Nabob himſelf for his conſent. Mr. Briſtow did write to him accordingly. I alſo cauſed Govind Ram, the Nabob's Vakeel, to apprize his maſter that the application was made with my knowledge, and with my wiſh that it might prove effectual, if the Nabob had not the objection which I had apprehended; and leſt he might be induced, by his remembrance of the intereſt by which Mr. Briſtow's former appointment had been before made, to object to it on a principle of delicacy to myſelf, I deſired Rajah Govind Ram to aſſure him, that Mr. Briſtow ſhould receive his appointment from my own choice, not by the impoſition of any authority contrary to it: but I abſtained from any direct communication of theſe ſentiments, that the Nabob might be the freer in his deciſion upon the propoſition ſubmitted to him. I have already alluded to this tranſaction in a minute, dated the ſeventh of March 1783, and dictated on a different occaſion, and with other particulars, which are here omitted.—Mr. Briſtow will not deny the fact, as I have related it; and Mr. Macpherſon will poſſibly recollect it.

Is is poſſible that I could have uſed ſo much delicacy, and affected ſuch a tenderneſs towards the Nabob, if I meant to ſend a tyrant to rule over him?

I ſhall forbear to ſpeak my apprehenſions of the conſequences, if it ſhall be finally reſolved by the members of this Board, that Mr. Briſtow ſhall be formally veſted with the power of ruling the dominions appertaining to the Nabob Aſoph u Dowla, and guaranteed to him againſt all invaders, by a ſacred treaty, by which the faith and honour of the Britiſh nation, and not the Company alone, are pledged to maintain it. A ſyſtem of ſuch controul cannot ſubſiſt on conſtructive powers; and if the Board do not notify to Mr. Briſtow the declaration which I have made,

made, of the revocation of thoſe which he received from me, and which he has groſsly abuſed, I ſhall; and at his peril let him dare hereafter to quote them, as containing the authority for his actions. Thoſe who abet him in his conduct ought to preſcribe to him the rule of it. When I am made acquainted with that rule, I will record my opinion of it.—Would to God I could prevent it, and the dreadful conſequences which, however qualified, muſt attend the exerciſe of any dominion built on ſuch a foundation, and committed to ſuch a ruler!

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Acting Sec. to the Secret Department.

Fort William, 20th October 1783.

To the Honourable Court of Directors of the Honourable United Eaſt India Company.

Honourable Sirs,

I HEREBY make my appeal to your honourable Court, from the acts of this government, on an occaſion which highly concerns the intereſts of the Company, and the honour and faith of the Britiſh name. The ſubject is two-fold, and conſiſts, firſt, in a ſeries of charges, preferred by the Nabob Vizier, and his miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn, againſt Mr. Briſtow, your Reſident at the Court of Lucknow: and, ſecondly, in an offer made by the Nabob Vizier of the ſecurity of creditable Bankers, for the diſcharge of his paſt and growing debt to the Company; and accompanied with a conditional prayer, to be freed from the preſence and oppreſſions of Mr. Briſtow, and his aſſiſtant Mr. Cowper.

Meſſrs. Wheler, M'Pherſon, and Stables, have ſeverally acquitted Mr. Briſtow of all the charges which were alledged againſt him; and they have ſeverally refuſed to accept the offer of the Nabob Vizier, and to comply with the prayer accompanying it. My opinion, on both points, ſtands in direct contradiction to theirs.

The proceedings on this affair have been already ſwelled to ſo enormous a ſize, and I have myſelf contributed ſo largely to it in my examination of Mr. Briſtow's defence, that I ſhall deem it moſt conſiſtent with the reſpect which I feel for the value of your time, to refer you to the minutes of Council which comprehend this ſubject, and

and for that purpoſe to enumerate them in the order in which they may afford you the moſt connected information, viz.

Treaty of Chunar, dated 19th September 1781.	—	Vide Governor-general's narrative of the inſurrection at Benares.
Inſtructions to Mr. Middleton, 23d September 1781	——	Do.
Mr. Johnſon's recall from his office at Lucknow	—	Secret Conſ. 7th September 1782.
Mr. Middleton's recall, and Mr. Briſtow's appointment	—	Public do. 23d Septemb.
Governor General's notification to the Board of his inſtructions to Mr. Briſtow	———	Secret do. 24th October.

N. B. Theſe inſtructions are entered on Secret Conſultations of 21ſt April 1783.

Governor General's minute, on the appointment of Mr. Fowke to the Reſidentſhip at Benares	7th March 1783.
Complaint againſt Mr. Briſtow	21ſt April 1783.
	12th May.
	19th.
	22d.
	29th.
	13th June.
	7th July.
	24th.
	28th.
	31ſt.
	11th Auguſt.
Minutes of Mr. Wheler, dated 24th Auguſt —	28th.
Do. — of Mr. Stables, dated 30th Auguſt —	4th September.
Do. — of Mr. Macpherſon, 3d September —	Do.
Do. — of Governor General, 29th September —	29th.
Do. — of Do. 6th October —	6th October.

Papers

Papers recorded with the above minute of the Governor General, viz.

Letter from Major Palmer to the Governor-general, dated 16th September 1783.
Letter from Major Palmer to the Governor-general, dated 20th September 1783.
Do. from Hyder Beg Cawn — Do. — received 27th.
Minutes of Mr. Macpherſon and Stables, in anſwer to the Governor-general's laſt — Secret Conſ. 13th Oct.
Minute of the Governor-general in reply, dated 11th October 13th.

Papers recorded with this minute, viz.

1ſt. Letter from the Governor-general to Hyder Beg Cawn, delivered to Mr. Briſtow, with his inſtructions, and with a power of delivering it to Hyder Beg Cawn, or of ſuppreſſing it, at his diſcretion.
2d. Information given by Rajah Gobind Ram to the Nabob Vizier on the occaſion of Mr. Briſtow's propoſed appointment.
3d. Inſtructions from Major Davy to Major Palmer, by order of the Governor-general, on the ſame ſubject, dated 6th October.
Minute of the Governor-general, dated 20th October — Secret Conſ. 21ſt Oct, recording his inſtructions to Major Palmer, dated 6th May 1783.
Mr. Stables's minute of 24th October, in anſwer to the Governor-general of the 29th September —— Secret Conſ. 21ſt October 1783.
Mr. Macpherſon's, in anſwer to Do. —— Do.
The Governor-general's of the 2d November, in reply. —— Do.
Mr. Macpherſon's minute, recording correſpondence between Major Palmer and Mr. Cowper 25th.

What

What may be the future proceſs and iſſue of this buſineſs I cannot foreſee; I have borne a very painful and laborious part in it, and ſhall continue to devote as much of my time and attention to the examination of the materials which may be furniſhed in the proſecution of it, as my other more urgent calls, if I can have any more urgent, and the impaired ſtate of my conſtitution will allow.

I fear, in every inſtance which may impel me to ſpeak of myſelf in any alluſion to the relation of my office to your honourable Court, to err in the forms of reſpect. I therefore beſpeak your pardon, with the moſt ſolemn aſſurance that I mean not to offend, for the too obvious ſuggeſtion implied in the following expoſtulation: Do not, honourable Sirs, conſider me as an object in the iſſue of this reference. Your deciſion upon it, at whatever period it may arrive, will be received by an adminiſtration with which I can have no concern; and may I preſume to hope, that it will place the executive charge of your commands in the hands of a perſon who ſhall be inveſted with the powers of the office, not diſgraced as I have been with an unſubſtantial title without authority, and with a reſponſibility without the means of diſcharging it. May he at leaſt poſſeſs ſuch a portion of excluſive controul as may enable him to interfere with effect in occaſions which may tend to the ſacrifice of your political credit! This, whatever temporary convenience may dictate a different rule of conduct, applied to every variable contingency ſo conſtrued, will be found the only principle which can give permanency to your dominion. A belief, however warranted, of a contrary rule of policy influencing your affairs, has been the real and undoubted cauſe of the late confederacy formed for your deſtruction, and of the conſequent deſolation of one great member of your ſtate, and may (which God avert!) prove one hidden ſource of its ultimate diſſolution. This doctrine may be ill ſuited to the character of a man whoſe removal from office has been declared by high authorities neceſſary to quiet the minds of the native princes of Hindoſtan, and reſtore their confidence in the faith, juſtice, and moderation of the Britiſh nation. A few years will remove the veil of faction which has cauſed this illuſion, and it will be known that all my acts have been regulated by the moſt ſacred obſervance of treaties, and all my negociations with truth; yet let me be what I may, I profeſs the neceſſity of juſtice and good faith to the exiſtence of the national intereſts in theſe kingdoms. Your honourable Court has proclaimed it; one great member of the legiſlative body has ſolemnly pronounced the

the ſame doctrine, and the voice of the people is ready to echo it; yet it is, even with theſe great authorities, inefficient, ſince every man who is in the poſſeſſion of power to violate the national faith, and is impelled by the provocations of ambition, avarice, or vengeance, ſtronger than the reſtrictions of integrity and honour, may violate it with impunity. Your wiſdom may enforce, in partial applications, the rule which your juſtice has generally preſcribed, and the terrors of parliamentary enquiries may deter groſs and notorious abuſes of it; but until the legiſlative power of the nation ſhall declare it capital in any of its ſubjects to commit a breach of treaty, or to invade any of the aſcertained rights of nations, the greateſt of all moral enormities, by which the fate of millions may be cloſed, and ſtates doomed to annihilation, will remain protected by the law of England from the effect of that juſtice which dooms to death the meaneſt invader of private property.

I cannot conclude this addreſs without expreſſing my concern for the intereſt and character of a man whom I have proved, unfortunately, though unintentionally, the inſtrument of involving in a conteſt which threatens to terminate in his ruin, however upright his intentions may have been, or however laudable in their proſecution—I allude to my military ſecretary, Major Palmer, whoſe accidental preſence at the Court of Lucknow furniſhed the occaſion to the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter, of tranſmitting through the channel of his letter their complaints againſt Mr. Briſtow. For the ground of his original deputation, I beg leave to refer you to my inſtructions, which will be found among the numbers of the packet ſent by this diſpatch; and for the part which he has borne in relation to the complaints, to his letter, alſo inſerted a number in the ſame packet. Theſe will afford additional and (if I do not view them with too partial a judgment) inconteſtible proofs of the delicacy which I have both obſerved in my own conduct to the Nabob, the Nabob Vizier, and in that which I have preſcribed to others; and how little I merit the reproach of that ſavage treatment of him which Mr. Briſtow has pretended to ground on my authority.

Allow me to atteſt, that with an intimate knowledge of Major Palmer's character, acquired and improved by an intercourſe of many years, I do not know a man who poſſeſſes a truer ſenſe of honour, a more benevolent heart, a more candid ſpirit, or more gentle manners; and I believe that this is his character in the eſtimation of all who know him.

Thoſe

Thoſe whoſe deſigns and actions have been drawn from their concealment by the means in which Major Palmer participated, will avail themſelves of ſpecious and general maxims to brand him with the character of an incendiary and an informer. Had he refuſed to act the part which he has done; had he, my avowed and confidential miniſter, profeſſing himſelf attached to me by the ſtrongeſt ties of friendſhip, been an eye witneſs of deeds which ſtamped my character with infamy, and deſtroyed the credit and faith of the government which he ſerved, and had allowed the cold precepts of that ſelf-intereſt which is ſometimes denominated prudence, to influence his ſuppreſſion of them, I on my part ſhould have deteſted him as a monſter of ingratitude, falſeſhood, and infidelity. On which ſide was he, in ſuch an alternative, to have made his option? To the juſtice of your honourable Court, and to the breaſt of every virtuous and honourable man, I ſafely appeal for the reply.

I have the honour to be,
Honourable Sirs,
Your moſt obedient,
and faithful ſervant,
WARREN HASTINGS.

Minutes of Mr. Macpherſon, Mr. Stables, and Mr. Haſtings, in Conſultations, 21ſt October 1783.

Mr. Macpherſon, October 20th.

I HAVE peruſed the Governor-general's minute, delivered in Council the 30th September. For the preſent I will only take notice of thoſe parts of it which point particularly at myſelf, and the public ſtate of the queſtion.

The Governor-general has been pleaſed to ſuppoſe, that I had either written or corrected Mr. Briſtow's letter to the Board, tranſmitted with his defence. To Mr. Haſtings I ſhall only reply, that he is miſtaken in this opinion. The compliments which he pays to the ſtyle and temper of the letter are flattering; but if they do not fall to the avowed writer, I know not who has a right to claim them.

As Major Palmer has, upon another occaſion, ſuppoſed that I tranſmitted to Mr. Briſtow copies of the minutes of the members of this Board, or of other public papers, on the ſubject of the accuſations againſt him, I deſire that Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper may be called upon to make a declaration, to the truth of which they will hereafter be ready to atteſt upon oath, in the preſence of a proper magiſtrate, "whether I wrote or corrected, or in any "ſhape compoſed the letter that accompanied Mr. Briſ-

"tow's

" tow's defence; or whether I ever, through any com-
" munication, direct from myſelf, or indirect through
" others, tranſmitted to them copies of what any other
" member of the Board, or of what I myſelf have written
" upon the ſubject of the charges againſt Mr. Briſtow, or
" his defence."

My object in making this propoſition is not ſo much to diſprove what a plain negative can anſwer, as to ſhew how very different my proceeding has been in this buſineſs; it has been ſuch as is entitled to the real approbation of the Governor-general.

As to the difference of my proceeding in the reſpective caſes of Mr. Johnſon and Mr. Briſtow, I ſhall leave it to the public records to place it in its proper light.

The re-eſtabliſhment of the French power in India, without any reſtriction as to the military force they are to keep at Chandernagore renders it, according to my ideas, particularly neceſſary for this government to continue their Reſident at Oude, and to maintain a reſpectable force in that frontier.

But I mean not to enter into a diſcuſſion upon this or any new ground, to ſhew the advantage to the public from the eſtabliſhment of a Reſident at Oude. The meaſure has been long adopted, and is now rendered more indiſpenſable, from the late directions of the Court of Directors.

I ſhould at the ſame time be extremely happy to ſee an adminiſtration eſtabliſhed at Oude, and with every one of our country dependant allies, that would preclude as much as poſſible the internal interference of our agents with the affairs of their countries. Such an interference it will ever be difficult to keep within thoſe bounds which ſecure the proſperity of the natives, and the regulation of the country, from the effects of oppoſite and claſhing authority.

Had the Vizier and his miniſter been found competent to ſecure the peace and good management of the Nabobſhip of Oude, on the bottom and principles of the Chunar treaty, it would not have been found neceſſary to have charged Mr. Briſtow with the powers which his inſtructions gave him, and which bound him at leaſt to *attempt* to introduce a new and a better ſyſtem.

His repreſentations to the Board, of the ſtate in which he found the country, of his expectations and endeavours to carry through the expected arrangements, and of the difficulties that lay in his way; theſe repreſentations, which the Board received in detail, without any diſapprobation of his proceedings, and more particularly the independence which he maintained againſt a miniſter,

whoſe influence exiſted in the abuſes complained of, were the grounds upon which Mr. Briſtow appeared to have been entitled to ſupport.

But ſhould it hereafter appear that Mr. Briſtow, inſtead of being entitled to ſuch ſupport, has endeavoured to pervert the inſtructions and authority with which he was charged to the purpoſes of *private rapacity*, he can no longer merit countenance; and I ſincerely believe that he will meet with none from any member of the Board. There is an expreſſion in the Governor-general's minute, which, though it does not charge Mr. Briſtow with any act of private rapacity, intimates, that his inſtructions may be perverted to ſuch. If it does not, I have miſunderſtood it.

Had the majority of the Board directed Mr. Briſtow, in conſequence of his repreſentations againſt Hyder Beg Cawn, to urge the Vizier to remove that miniſter, and make him account for his paſt adminiſtration; had they directed the Reſident, in conſequence of the oppoſitions he met with, to inſiſt on reformations, which muſt have diveſted the Vizier and his adminiſtration of much of their wonted authority, they might be charged with proceeding with violence.

But, in the preſent ſituation of affairs at Lucknow, the Reſident of this government does not appear to me to be ſupported in the exerciſe of any ſuch oppreſſive controul.

On the contrary, his official repreſentations tend to ſhew that the Vizier's adminiſtration hardly treats him with the attention that is due to his office, much leſs with the reſpect which ever accompanies power in this country.

(Signed) M'P.

A true copy.

E. Hay,

Acting Sec. to the Secret Dept.

Mr. Stables. 24th Oct. 1783.

I beg leave to offer the following remarks on the Governor-general's minute of date the 29th of laſt month, for the conſideration of the Court of Directors, and in juſtification of my own conduct.

On my arrival in Calcutta, in November 1782, I found that Mr. Briſtow had been appointed Reſident at the court of Oude in September preceding. I have no knowledge of this gentleman, nor have I ever ſeen him.

When the Governor-general preſented to the Board the complaints of the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn, againſt the public repreſentative of this government at his court, which the Governor-general had received

received at different periods prior to their being communicated to the Board, I immediately peruſed the former proceedings on the ſubject, and eſpecially the inſtructions dictated by the Governor-general himſelf to Mr. Middleton the late, and Mr. Briſtow the preſent, Reſident; inſtructions directing meaſures to be purſued of a general, ſtrong, and extenſive nature. Theſe inſtructions were, I conceive, for his conduct at the court of Aſuph Ul Dowlah, a prince of very doubtful private character, and avowedly known to be labouring under the moſt abject ſubjection to his miniſter, Hyder Beg Cawn, who is alſo painted in very ſtrong colours in theſe very inſtructions, which I earneſtly recommend to the attentive peruſal of the Court of Directors. To have recalled Mr. Briſtow, whoſe conduct was highly commendable and meritorious when he acted in the ſame capacity in the year 1775 and 1776, on the ſimple allegations and intrigues of ſuch characters, I conceive would be deſtructive to the public intereſt, and render our government contemptible. After re-conſidering this ſubject, and after an attentive re-peruſal of the inſtructions for Mr. Briſtow's conduct, I adhere to the ſentiments I before delivered in my minutes of the 19th and 22d of May, 31ſt of July, and 4th of September, without any apprehenſion that I ſhall be numbered among the oppreſſors of the princes in India.

I cannot paſs unnoticed the following expreſſion in the Governor-general's minute:—"As to my intentions, "and their real objects, I affirm that they have been "wholly neglected, nor has any uſe been made of them, "but to pervert them to deſigns of which I know not the "authority, nor can deviſe any other end, but private "rapacity." This expreſſion, I imagine, alludes to the conduct of Mr. Briſtow, although no fact is brought in ſupport of ſuch an inſinuation. I can only obſerve for the preſent, that if, upon ſufficient proof, the Reſident ſhall be convicted of private rapacity, I ſhall deem him unworthy of the truſt committed to his charge, and ſhall readily vote with the Governor-general for his recall. The Governor-general thinks himſelf aggrieved by Mr. Briſtow's continual appeal to his inſtructions as the rule and warrant of his conduct: I beg leave to premiſe, without wiſhing to offend, or having a deſire to diminiſh the powers legally veſted in the executive member of this adminiſtration, that the inſtructions to the Reſident at the court of Oude, when read and approved by the members of the Board, became the inſtructions of the Board at large, and not of the Governor-general as an individual; and that until they are revoked or annulled by a majority of the Board, I conceive the Reſident is juſtified

in quoting them as authority for his conduct. At the ſame time, if there are any reformations or regulations enjoined in the inſtructions, which are not neceſſary for the correction of the enormous abuſes that are too well known to prevail in the Nabob Vizier's country, I ſhall chearfully concur with the other members of the Board in altering them.

Reſpecting what is delivered in the Governor-general's minute, wherein he ſolemnly declares, that the powers of this government are not in his hands, nor exerciſed by the principles which he profeſſes, I ſhall be totally ſilent, ſubmitting the ſame entirely to the deciſion of the Court of Directors; to whoſe judgment, with reſpect and deference, I appeal, and who, I truſt and hope, will think it abſolutely neceſſary to order a thorough and compleat inveſtigation into the whole of the tranſactions at the court of Oude, reſpecting the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter.

A true copy.
E. Hay,
Acting Sec. to the Secret Dept.

Governor-general. 2d Nov. 1783.

Mr. Stables's minute, dated the 24th of October, and Mr. Macpherſon's, dated the 20th, were delivered to me by the ſecretary; the firſt on the 27th, and the laſt on the 28th of the ſame month, being the ſame days on which I underſtand them to have been received. I ſhall make ſome obſervations on both.

It is in the firſt place incumbent on me to clear Major Palmer from the offence of having intentionally caſt any reflection on a member of the Board, by a ſuppoſition of his having tranſmitted to Mr. Briſtow the charges which had been preferred againſt him. Major Palmer intimated this in a familiar note, written on an occaſion obviouſly leading to it, and to a man ſtanding in the relation of an intimate friend: it ought not to have paſſed the breaſt of this friend, nor would it have been made public, but for the diſingenuous uſe which he made of it. At the ſame time I will ſo far juſtify Major Palmer by my own teſtimony, as to declare that I did myſelf expect that Mr. Macpherſon would apprize Mr. Briſtow of the charges; and as it was written by Mr. Briſtow's recriminatory letter of 13th of May laſt, that he had received early notice of them from ſome channel, I did as naturally conclude that the information reached him through that of Mr. Macpherſon, but did not in that inſtance impute to him any breach of official truſt.

I am

I am happy that I can undeceive Mr. Macpherſon in the opinion which he has entertained of the new rights derived to the French from the preliminary treaty. The 13th article, which preſcribes the mode of their return to Bengal, ſimply reſtores them to the privileges which they before held with their former poſſeſſions, but expreſſes no new conditions added to them; nor can they, by any conſtruction, lay claim to any not expreſſed; for this article is not, as others are, reciprocal, but binding on our nation only for the allowance of the French to their readmiſſion into a territory of Britiſh juriſdiction. But whatever ground there may have been for a contrary ſuppoſition, it is now removed beyond all reach of argument, or poſſibility of doubt, by the expreſs authority of the Court of Directors, in their circular letter of the 6th of March, in which they declare in terms, that "by this ſtipulation "no intention is entertained on the part of France, to "erect a fortification, or to introduce a force which can "give juſt cauſe of alarm to our government, the in-"tended eſtabliſhment being entirely commercial." As little ground is there, on the other hand, for any apprehenſion of a confederacy of the powers of the French and the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah againſt this government. The reſpect which I bear to Mr. Macpherſon's talents will not allow me to believe, that he would deliberately uſe this as an argument, or that he would have applied it even in diſtant alluſion, but as it was required to give effect to one of greater force. As juſtly may the government of Fort St. George deprive the Nabob Wallajau of his inheritance, leſt he ſhould unite his arms to thoſe of the French at Pondicherry. The condition of both princes is equally deſtitute, and equally oppreſſed, and the humiliation of their remonſtrances ſhews them to be equally hopeleſs of any redreſs, but in the mercy of their oppreſſors.

Another reaſon urged for continuing the eſtabliſhment of a Reſident at Oude is, that "the meaſure has been "long adopted." I have been long accuſtomed to war with words: the Reſident whom I firſt appointed was placed there for the purpoſes of maintaining the good underſtanding which had recently taken root between the two governments, and of guarding that of Oude againſt vexation from that of our's—it is an abuſe of terms to plead the right or neceſſity of preſcription for the continuance of an office which exiſts only in the name, but with its original powers and objects inverted.

"I am ignorant of any late directions from the Court "of Directors, by which the meaſure is now rendered "more indiſpenſable." They have indeed preſcribed the

payment of the penſions aſſigned to the Begums through the Reſident, and an aſylum to be granted to them if they require it, in our provinces. Both purpoſes can be as completely and eaſily fulfilled without a Reſident as with one, ſince there muſt be ſome office or channel for the receipt of much larger ſums from the Nabob Vizier than the Begums penſions, and for the grant of an aſylum to them in our own provinces. The command of the Court of Directors, without any other intervention, would be ſufficient; and the Nabob, in the caſe of neceſſity ſuppoſed to require it, would be as glad to be freed from them as they to leave him.

What follows in the minute now under examination, involves a poſition not affirmed, but too pointedly marked to be miſſed. It is that, "the internal interference of "our agents with the affairs of the countries of our coun-"try dependent allies," is neceſſary to their better adminiſtration. This poſition, which I have ſtated in terms borrowed, but tranſpoſed from the words of the minute, applies equally to the Nabob Wallajau as to Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah. Indeed the caſes are too ſimilar to admit of a principle reſpecting one, that will not equally apply to both; yet I did believe that the ſentiments of the members of this government were unanimous concerning the treatment ſuffered by the former.

When a doctrine is held which is contrary to the common principles of moral, or even of political rectitude, the reſpect which is due to the opinions of mankind, and the reverence which is due in a higher degree to authority, require both that there ſhould be good and ſtrong grounds for the deviation, and that they ſhould be clearly demonſtrated. I know no grounds that will juſtify this, nor are any aſſigned; and I may therefore alſo, without aſſigning any reaſon, in ſtrict rule, deny the right of any power or ſtate upon earth to uſurp the adminiſtration of another, becauſe it can better adminiſter it than its proper adminiſtration. I alſo take upon me to deny that any advantages, whether reciprocal or ſeparate, of ſuch an uſurpation, can compenſate for the injuries which will be ſuſtained by it in the effects of "oppoſite and claſhing "authorities," if theſe are allowed to exiſt with it, or to the ſacrifice of public faith, if it is declared and abſolute.

But neither is it allowable in the preſent caſe, on any ground of ſpecific engagement, though this is implied by the following paragraph:—"Had the Vizier and his mi-"niſter been found competent to ſecure the peace and "good management of the Nabobſhip of Owde, on the "bottom and principles of the Chunar treaty, it would "not have been found neceſſary to have charged Mr.

"Briſtow

" Briſtow with the powers which his inſtructions gave " him, and which bound him at leaſt to attempt to intro- " duce a new and a better ſyſtem."

What bottom?—what principles of the Chunar treaty requires that Mr. Briſtow ſhould ſecure the peace and good management of the Nabobſhip of Owde, and for theſe purpoſes to exclude the authority of the Nabob Vizier, and his miniſter, as incompetent?—I have proved, in long and detailed argument, that no ſuch right, and much leſs obligation, was conveyed by the treaty, and my expoſitions of it, in repeated letters and other declarations to the Nabob, made before Mr. Briſtow's appointment, abſolutely diſclaim it.—What powers was Mr. Briſtow charged with in his inſtructions? I have uſed many arguments to prove that I never gave, as I know beyond all power of argument that I never intended to give, to Mr. Briſtow, any authority to exerciſe " an internal inter- " ference in the affairs of the government of Owde." To thoſe proofs I appeal, and with ſome plea for complaint, that while thoſe remain unanſwered, as I believe them to be unanſwerable, Mr. Briſtow's powers, derived from my inſtructions, ſhould ſtill be quoted in alluſion, as to a fact eſtabliſhed and admitted.

Though Mr. Macpherſon diſclaims the intention of " entering into a diſcuſſion of any new ground, to ſhew " the advantage to the public from the eſtabliſhment of a " Reſident at Owde," yet I believe he has run over every ground, whether new or old, and both of expediency and of right, which could tend to juſtify the eſtabliſhment and the continuation of it, viz. the danger of French intrigues, and of the power of the Nabob Vizier united with the French; preſcription; the late orders of the Court of Directors; the incompetency of the adminiſtration of the Nabob Vizier and of his miniſter; the treaty of Chunar; and Mr. Briſtow's inſtructions;—and to theſe I have fully and diſtinctly replied.

I am now compelled, not unwillingly, to take notice of an argument urged in juſtification of Mr. Briſtow, which eſcaped my attention when I wrote my examination of his defence. This argument is uſed in the former minutes, and repeated in thoſe now before me. I ſhall ſtate it in Mr. Macpherſon's words:—

" His repreſentations to the Board of the ſtate in which " he found the country, of his expectations and endea- " vours to carry through the expected arrangements, and " of the difficulties that lay in his way; theſe repreſen- " tations, which the Board received in detail, without " any diſapprobation of his proceedings, and more par- " ticularly the independence which he maintained againſt

" a miniſter, whoſe influence exiſted in the abuſes com-
" plained of, were the grounds upon which Mr. Briſtow
" appeared to have been entitled to ſupport."

I have already obſerved, on a ſimilar plea made by Mr. Briſtow, concerning the appointment of Mahmud Beg, a trooper, to the Sezawelee of Furruçkabad, that " it was " very true that Mr. Briſtow had informed the Board of " this appointment, and obtained the approbation of it; " and ſo he might of any other tranſaction, however " exceptionable, by ſuppreſſing every information which " could render it ſuch." This is preciſely the character of every repreſentation which Mr. Briſtow ever made to the Board, until he was apprized of the complaints which were written againſt him.—His letters contain frequent references to meaſures which he adviſed, to plans which he recommended, and to acts requiring his participation, in which he acquieſced, at the ſolicitation of the Nabob, but not one which afforded the Board the ſlighteſt intimation of his uſing, or intending to uſe, his own authority. It was not till very late that I knew what had paſſed; for the Nabob and his miniſter ceaſed to correſpond with me, and I had other cares which drew off my attention from that quarter. I naturally approved the letters, for I ſaw nothing in them to diſapprove; for however exceptionable his meaſures were (to repeat my former words) he had precluded all objection, by the ſuppreſſion of every information which could render them ſuch. I will inſtance one letter, becauſe it has been particularly mentioned by Mr. Stables, as producing the fulleſt warrant for his acts, by the detailed information given of them, and no diſapprobation of the Board following it. The truth is, that I knew no more of the contents of the letter than Mr. Stables; but had it been laid before the Board in its proper time, I ſhould have approved it; for it conveyed, and with the moſt guarded expreſſion, the conſtruction of a line of conduct agreeing with my own ſentiments, and diametrically oppoſite to that which he did actually obſerve, and for which he is now defended on the plea of expediency, the ground of his inſtructions, and the right of treaty.

The following extracts, from Mr. Briſtow's letter to the Board, dated the 21ſt of January 1783, which is that in queſtion, will prove what I have advanced:

" And I ſhall now ſubmit to your conſideration the
" plans which I think it my duty to recommend to the
" Vizier."

" I have procured an aſſignment in their favour for
" nine lacks of rupees."

Memorandum,

Memorandum. This is the aſſignment which Mr. Briſtow is charged with having obtained, by compelling the Miniſter to iſſue the Nabob's Shokas or mandates for them without his knowledge, and which the Nabob afterwards prevailed upon Mr. Briſtow, by other ſacrifices, to withdraw and cancel.

" This corps being likewiſe on the ſpot, the Vizier " may in perſon review and muſter them, in which I " propoſe having the honour to attend him."

" I have procured certain funds for the payment of his " corps, and ſhall ſtrongly recommend it to the Vizier " to withdraw the detachments of his Raſſelah from the " interior parts of the country, &c."

" I ſhall, without further delay, adviſe the Vizier to " aboliſh the practiſe of detaching troops in ſmall bodies."

" The honourable Governor-general's commands of " 23d September 1781, directing that the Vizier ſhould " be adviſed to aboliſh the ſyſtem of aſſignments to his " Mootayena."

" Probably the end of the year, as required, before " his Excellency will be able totally to aboliſh the ſyſtem " of aſſignments. In ſuch inſtance, where it can be im- " mediately executed, I ſhall exert my endeavours to per- " ſuade the Vizier no longer to poſtpone ſo neceſſary a " meaſure."

" Unleſs the Vizier acts directly in the buſineſs, my " making the circuit of ſuch diſtricts as are the moſt de- " ſerving his attention, and deputing confidential agents " to the remainder, the evil would be a long time before " it could be completely remedied."

" I hope the advantage to be derived from it will ap- " pear ſo evident to his Excellency, that he will not only " ſincerely and heartily aſſent to the meaſure, but ſupport " it by every exertion of his authority."

" I now beg leave to ſubmit to your conſideration the " heads of the plan which I have recommended to the " Vizier."

" Or any great officer of ſtate to whom you may direct " me to adviſe the Vizier to intruſt ſo important a " charge."

" This is the outline of the plan I have propoſed for " regulating the Vizier's houſehold."

In the preceding extracts an uninformed reader would naturally conclude, that Mr. Briſtow acted ſolely as the Nabob's adviſer and aſſiſtant, with the full concurrence of he Nabob, and hearty acquieſcence in his aſſiſtance; for the Nabob is ſtated to be the actor and the principal, and

and Mr. Briſtow's interference following, as a point of conſequent duty.

Yet, will it be believed, that almoſt every act thus repreſented was forced upon the Nabob againſt his will, and forms the material part of his complaints againſt Mr. Briſtow, for the uſurpation of his ſovereignty, and inſult on his perſon?

I deſire that the other letters of Mr. Briſtow may be tried by the ſame teſt; they will terminate in the ſame conviction.

I certainly meant not, by any expreſſion in my former minute, to charge Mr. Briſtow, or any other perſon, with private rapacity; nor do I know why ſo much ſtreſs is laid on it in both the minutes now before me. Had I known, and could I have proved any inſtance of private rapacity, I would have affirmed it in plain terms. I never inſinuate, nor in the whole courſe of my political conteſts have I ever deſcended to the uſe of an expreſſion meant to convey a ſenſe, which I wiſhed to elude in the direct expreſſion of it. I have ſomewhere affirmed, and I now repeat, that the power claimed and exerciſed by Mr. Briſtow may ſerve the purpoſes of private rapacity, and can ſerve no other purpoſe. It will not be denied that the abſolute power of receiving and diſburſing all the public wealth of the province may be converted to that purpoſe, and that it will require an approved integrity to withſtand ſo ſtrong a temptation; and it demands an evidence ſtronger than Mr. Briſtow's aſſertion, or even the judgment of the Board confirming it, to prove that the Company's debt cannot be realized without it.

On the moderation of the majority of the Board, as it reſpects their intention, I cannot judge: it is true that they have neither directed Mr. Briſtow to urge the Vizier to remove his miniſter, nor to proſecute him, on the plea of making him account for his paſt adminiſtration (a dreadful ſuggeſtion, even though Mr. Briſtow ſhould not be his judge) nor by any ſpecific act diveſted the Vizier and his adminiſtration of much of their wonted authority, neither was it neceſſary; they have rejected the appeal of the Vizier and his miniſter, and left Mr. Briſtow in the poſſeſſion of an uncontrouled and irreſiſtible authority, which requires no further interpoſition of the powers of the Board, than that which may ſerve for the purpoſe for which it is ſince ſolicited, of the gratification of private vengeance. What may be yet in the intention of the Board, I know not; and ſcarcely dare to truſt to my imagination in the apprehenſion of what evils may yet lie concealed beyond the clouds which involve this tranſaction in the actual ſtate of it. I will however ſo far truſt, with a degree of aſſurance, to the moderation of

the

the majority, that they will heſitate at leaſt to give a more decided ſanction to the acts of Mr. Briſtow, after the recent experience which they have received of his intemperance in his laſt letter.

I regret the time which I have beſtowed on this ſubject, and yet more the quantity of matter compoſing it, in which the truth ſuffers the riſk of being wholly loſt. Yet, whatever may be the reſult, I am reſolved that I will devote what further portion of labour may be exacted from me, and my health and ſtrength will allow, to the laſt defence of a cauſe which I deem the cauſe of honour and humanity.

In the mean time, that the queſtion with which it originated may not be forgotten in the voluminous diſcuſſion of it, I will hereto ſubjoin the terms of it.

The Nabob Vizier complains, that Mr. Briſtow has aſſumed the powers of his government, and the ſanction of his name and ſeal, without his authority or knowledge, inſulted his perſon, and thrown his country into diſorder; and as the debt which is due and growing from the Nabob to the Company is uſed as the pretext for this violent conduct, he has offered to give the ſecurity of Bankers of honour, credit, and reſponſibility, for the regular and full diſcharge of the debt; requeſting, as the condition of this engagement, that he may be freed from the preſence and oppreſſions of Mr. Briſtow, and his aſſiſtant Mr. Cowper. I maintain that we ought to accept this offer, and the other members of the Board reject it.

A true copy.

E. Hay,

Acting Sec. to the Secret Dept.

The Governor General lays before the Board the following letter and encloſure from the Nabob Vizier.

From the Nabob Vizier; received November 29th 1783.

Uſual introduction.

In all due attention to the rights of friendſhip towards the Company, the gentlemen of the Council, and yourſelf, I have at no time been deficient from my regard thereto; I have ſo acted as to give ſatisfaction to the gentlemen heretofore appointed to this place, and they likewiſe, in managing the concerns of the Company, attended to the preſervation of my honour and dignities, ſo that there was no opportunity for cenſure or complaint on either ſide.

In the year 1189 Fuſſulle, Mr. Johnſon adopted certain meaſures calculated to bring diſgrace upon me, which being

being made known to the gentlemen of the Council and yourſelf, your equity and kindneſs induced you to call the above gentleman to an account. Mr. Briſtow, from the time of his arrival has done, and ſtill does, every thing that can tend to depreciate my authority. Repeated accounts have been tranſmitted to you of his injurious conduct; but as yet no juſtice has been done, or due notice taken of them, and the above gentleman is now, more than ever, bent on involving me in new difficulties and diſgrace.

I have always been in want to diſcharge the Company's Tunkaw by aſſignments on the Aumils of my Sircar; and the amount received from them being placed to my credit in the Company's accounts by their former Reſidents, they again received Juaidaud from me for the balances that might remain. If the aſſignments on the Aumils fell ſhort from any unforeſeen accidents, the Reſident did not require the deficiency from them, for there could have been no advantage in ſo doing; and thus the Company's concerns were well conducted. Mr. Briſtow, without my knowledge or conſent, has thought proper to put Khaujah Ain ud Deen, Aumil of Bareily, &c. in the province of Rohilcund, under confinement. To detail the particulars of this tranſaction would be tedious.

He has proceeded thus againſt the Khaujah on accuſations falſe and groundleſs. No objections have been made by me to peremptorily and threateningly calling on my Aumil for the payment of his monies; on the contrary, I myſelf ſo call on them, when neceſſary; but Mr. Briſtow has, of his own accord, confined this Aumil, and ſtill keeps him in confinement; and having included his balance in the accounts of the preſent year, has forcibly taken Jauidaud from me, and he means not to leave me any thing for my neceſſary expences. Having agreed to his requiſition of Jauidaud for the Khauja's balance, which he had added to the accounts of the preſent year, I repeatedly, by letter and meſſage, applied for his releaſe, but he ſtill keeps him in confinement. To your candour I refer the conſideration of the diſgrace thus thrown upon me in conſequence of his thus impriſoning my Aumils by his own authority; a mode of proceeding never adopted by any of his predeceſſors. The Aumils dependant upon my Sircar are loaded with diſhonour, whilſt thoſe dependant on Mr. Briſtow, ſuch as Iſmael Beg, and others, who were appointed in the laſt year only, and who, though there has been no drought in their Mahals, have greatly reduced the eſtabliſhed Jumma, have far exceeded the uſual allowances for expences, and have fallen in arrears of the payment of the Company's Tunkaw

kaw granted on them, are ſtill continued in poſſeſſion of their Mahals, and are his confidential miniſters and adviſers. No demand is made on them for the deficiency of Jumma, increaſe of expences, or balance of the Company's Tunkaw; but the latter is charged on me included in the accounts of the preſent year, and Jauidaud required for the amount; to which I have not the power to object. Others of his meaſures and orders are as follows: I have always been wont to diſcharge a part of the Company's Tunkaw by Jauidaud, on the payments of Almaſs Ali Khan, from which I likewiſe received a part for my own expences. This year Mr. Briſtow has withheld my Jardaad for the latter my neceſſary diſburſements; and though I have repeatedly deſired him, both by letter and meſſage, to take a part only of the payments from Ilmaſs Ali Cawn into the Company's Tunkaw, as heretofore, to let me receive a part from my expences, he will not comply; but has written to Ilmaſs Ali Khan, ſaying, "I will receive the whole of the monies due "from you; you will pay no part thereof to any perſon "whatever, if you do I will not give you credit for it "in your accounts." He likewiſe laid injunctions on Ilmas Ali Khan's Vackeel, ſaying, "if his Highneſs re-"quires any money from thence, you ſhall not give it." Thus having put a ſtop to my neceſſary expences, and iſſued orders declaring, that if any thing was paid to my order, it ſhould not be admitted in account;—what authority is left me, either with the Aumils or the people? Add to the foregoing, that the difficulties I labour under from the preſent ſcarcity are ſuch as require my moſt earneſt ſupplication to God. One other of the above gentleman's proceedings is as follows: the change and diſmiſſion of Aumils was talked of and determined by him in the month of Jeyte; and thoſe who aſſiſted him with their advice were all of them encouraged to expect employment. The engagements entered into for the year expired at the end of Badvon; and the Zemindars and Ryots, always ready to take advantage of events, hearing of the propoſed new arrangement, withheld the payment of their monies; at length, in conſequence of Mr. Briſtow's injunctions, the change of Aumils was entered upon; ſuch well founded reaſons as were offered in oppoſition on this head, were diſregarded by him: I was left without remedy, and acted as he directed. By this meaſure large balances remained due from the country on the remaining Kiſts of the paſt year, which has become a plea for deduction with the preſent Aumils. Thus I have ſuffered the loſs of lacks of rupees; and Mr. Briſtow having carried the balances of the Aumils to my account in the

accounts

accounts of the preſent year, exacts Jardaad from me, and I am unable to object to it.

Theſe meaſures and proceedings of the above gentleman are not done without deliberation and deſign. To enter into particulars would be endleſs. In addition to this, every one is impeached by him with multiform, falſe, and groundleſs accuſations. Thus ſituated, let me conjure your equitable interpoſition. How can I ſupport my exiſtence now that Mr. Briſtow's proſecutions, and my diſgrace, are arrived at the pitch they are? I implore redreſs; let me obtain juſtice.

Concludes as uſual.

* * * * * *

Governor-general.—Mr. Briſtow, in the letter laſt read, avowedly mentions both his previous intention of confining Khauja Ain ul Deen, one of the Nabob's principal Aumils; his actual execution of that intention; the Nabob's application, in writing, to Mr. Briſtow for the releaſe of the Aumil; and Mr. Briſtow's refuſal to comply with it. The Nabob alſo complains of this tranſaction in the letter to me, which is entered above; and of a letter written by Mr. Briſtow to Almaſs Ally Cawn, containing the declaration of his intention to take the full produce of the Mahals which were under Almaſs's charge, for part of the Company's aſſignment, with a dictatorial prohibition to give any part of the produce of it without his (Mr. Briſtow's) permiſſion.

Theſe are acts of power ſo contrary to every pretenſion that this government can aſſert, or has ever authorized Mr. Briſtow to exerciſe, that I muſt requeſt the Board to determine, whether they have or have not their ſanction, and whether he ſhall be hereafter permitted to exerciſe the like power independantly of the Nabob, and without reſpect to his concurrence. This, in effect, will determine the queſtion which I have propoſed in my firſt minute.

I muſt alſo take notice of the reaſons aſſigned by Mr. Briſtow for refuſing to comply with the Nabob's requiſition for the releaſe of Khaujah Ain u Deen; namely, "that the Nabob's letters may, in the words of his inſtructions, be conſidered as dictated by Hyder Beg Cawn." A ſimilar expreſſion occurs in a former letter of Mr. Briſtow's, dated 14th October; in which he ſays, "Had the ſalutary orders of the honourable the Governor-general been received with a cordiality at this court equal to the zeal and earneſtneſs with which they were propoſed; and a ſteadineſs ſhewn by the prince in the execution of them, anſwerable to the wiſdom of the counſel which produced them, the affairs of Oude

would

" would long have aſſumed an aſpect very different from " that in which they now appear." This indecent and very diſreſpectful alluſion to my orders for acts done in groſs and ſhameful violation of them, cannot receive the countenance of the Board; for, ſurely, it is indecent and diſreſpectful, after the paſt complaints, made by myſelf as well as the Nabob, againſt Mr. Briſtow, for his perverſion and diſobedience to my orders, to appeal to them for his warrant, with epithets of affected praiſe; nor is his diſobedience of my expreſs injunction to act in every inſtance in conformity to the Nabob's will and inclinations palliated, but, on the contrary, exaggerated, by his alluſion to a remote obſervation made by me upon a different and ſpecial ſubject, and neither expreſſing nor implying any inſtruction for his conduct.

For theſe reaſons, and becauſe I do moſt ſolemnly declare, that Mr. Briſtow does not either confine himſelf to my inſtructions, or pay the leaſt regard to them, I do again conjure the Board to determine the line of his conduct, and to give him ſuch inſtructions as in their judgment ſhall be proper and requiſite for the effectual execution of the ſyſtem which he has himſelf eſtabliſhed, and which the Board has hitherto permitted, if it be their determination that ſuch a ſyſtem ſhall be maintained; or ſuch other inſtructions as in their better judgment they ſhall think proper to frame; and this I conceive to have become indiſpenſably neceſſary, by the application made by Mr. Briſtow himſelf for his guidance on the occaſion of the declaration made to him by me, in conformity to one made ſome time preceding by myſelf to the Board, that the inſtructions under which he acted, or pretended to act, were no longer my inſtructions.

Some reply muſt be made to this reference, or Mr. Briſtow will be left without authority, and (what is worſe) without a controul; therefore, the Board muſt either adopt thoſe inſtructions, and call them their own, or muſt give others. If they declare them to be their own, it will be neceſſary to explain thoſe parts which are conſtrued by Mr. Briſtow in a ſenſe which I have affirmed, and do affirm, to be contradictory of my own; and as I have no longer the right or power of explaining my own inſtructions, it ſeems to be but reaſonable that the Board, having approved the line of conduct purſued by Mr. Briſtow, ſhould either explain their ſenſe of thoſe inſtructions, or give him new.

I forbear, in this place, to ſtate the points which will require the determination of the Board, becauſe they might lead to a diſagreeable as well as unprofitable diſcuſſion, which I yet hope may be avoided.

Ordered,

Ordered, That the foregoing minute from the Governor-general be ſent in circulation.

Read again the Governor-general's minute, entered in conſultation 6th of October laſt, propoſing the appointment of Mr. Wills to be Reſident at Furruckabad, with the papers accompanying it.

Ordered, That theſe papers be circulated to the members of the Board.

Conſultations, 27th December 1783.

THE following minute having been delivered on 23d inſtant to the ſecretary, by Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherſon and Mr. Stables, with orders to take it to the Governor-general, was ſhewn by the ſecretary to the Governor-general accordingly.

The ſubject of the Governor-general's minutes of the 16th December, and the alternatives which he ſtates to be neceſſary for the Board to adopt, relative to the management of affairs in the Nabob Vizier's country, are ſo important, that we agree to take the ſame into our ſerious conſideration, and we propoſe to record our opinion thereon at the next meeting of the Board in this department. The letter from Mr. Briſtow of the 10th December, and ſent in circulation, calls for ſome decided reſolution upon theſe ſubjects.

(Signed) Edward Wheler,
John Macpherſon,
John Stables.

The following minute, prepared by the Governor-general, previous to his ſeeing the foregoing minute from Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherſon, and Mr. Stables, was circulated by his orders to the other members of the Board on the 23d inſtant.

Governor-general.—Mr. Briſtow's repreſentation of the conduct of the Bankers, in the letter laſt addreſſed to the Board, and his preceding letter of the 14th October, is ſo conſiſtent with his uſual dealing with the Board, that I will unravel it for the conviction of the Board, and hope that they will not fail to take due notice of it: I muſt premiſe that he is in charge of the moſt important ſtation in the ſervice, both with relation to its political magnitude, and the great pecuniary intereſt attached to it; and that therefore his reports ought to be both regular, complete, and ſtrictly juſt, in every point of buſineſs, and that the neglect of this duty, but more eſpecially a perverſion of it, is in the higheſt degree criminal.

Mr.

Mr. Briſtow, in his letter of the 14th October, after ſtating that Gopaul Doſs, the banker, had lent to the Company fifteen lacks of rupees in June laſt, and promiſed as much more at a ſhort period as ſhould make the loan 30 lacks complete, complained that he both valued the performance of this condition, agreement, and engagement (for ſuch are the terms which he variouſly uſes in the ſame ſentence) and had even preſumed to demand payment of the firſt loan.

The Board in their reply, dated the 21ſt November, required a copy of the engagement on which Mr. Briſtow founds his claim; and how does he anſwer it? he refers the Board for information to an extract from a letter written to the Board on the 3d of June, which ſtates the original tranſaction in a light totally different; and adds the Board's anſwer, approving the loan; a tranſlation of the bond given by him for the firſt loan, engaging to repay it in the manner claimed by Gopaul Doſs; and tranſmits a further extract of his letter of the 14th of October, containing his repreſentation of the failure of engagement on the part of Gopaul Doſs. But though he quotes the order of the Board, directing him to tranſmit "copies "of the engagement with Gopaul Doſs, and to explain "in the cleareſt manner all the circumſtances attending "this tranſaction;" and immediately ſubjoins his reply in terms which mark an intention to give the ſatisfaction thus pointedly required; yet he neither tranſmits copies of the engagement, nor gives any explanation of the tranſaction: but as he has neglected his duty of reſpect, at leaſt, if not of obedience, I will do it for him; and ſhew that he has either indecently miſrepreſented the whole tranſaction, or, which I rather hope will prove to be the caſe, has perplexed and confounded the ſubject by his eagerneſs to force it to a connection with his favourite object, the crimination of Hyder Beg Cawn. My expoſition ſhall not embarraſs the Board, nor fatigue their attention: for it ſhall be confined to the materials furniſhed by Mr. Briſtow himſelf, in the diſpatch immediately before us.

In the extract of his letter to the Board, dated the 3d of June, he mentioned his "having concluded an agree-"ment with the houſe of Gopaul Doſs for fifteen lacks "of rupees, that he expected to receive the bills in the "courſe of two or three days, and ſhould then commence "another negociation for 15 lacks more; and ſo on, un-"til he obtained as large a ſum as he was able, &c." That "he did not chuſe to inform the bankers of the ſum total he "muſt require, as they would have exacted higher terms "than he ſhould think it juſtifiable to grant;" and that

" the plan which he propoſed for the repayment of the " bankers was, to engage that, after ſupplying the diſ- " burſements of the troops under the command of Colo- " nel Morgan, and Colonel Sir John Cumming, and the " expences of the Reſident's office, all ſurplus receipts " ſhall be paid to them;" and this engagement appears accordingly concluded in the terms of the bond.

Nothing can be clearer nor leſs ambiguous than this explanation of the tranſaction, when it was offered as a propoſition for the option of the Board. The engagement is ſtated in terms to be limited to 15 lacks; and the intention of extending it is alſo declared to have been moſt cautiouſly withheld from the knowledge of the bankers, and the condition of payment is defined; yet in the reviewal of this tranſaction on the 14th of October, Mr. Briſtow affirms, that " when in June laſt he pro- " cured from the houſe of Gopaul Doſs the ſum of 15 " lacks of rupees, he had a promiſe of ſo much more, at a " ſhort period, as ſhould make the loan to our government " 30 lacks complete:" adding, that Gopaul Doſs had broke his engagement, and even demanded payment of the ſum of the actual loan; and he connects this information with the charge of breach of engagement in ſuch a manner, as implies the ſame criminal conſtruction of it, though he at the ſame time furniſhed the Board with the moſt ample warrants for Gopaul Doſs in making the demand for payment, in his confeſſion of the original engagement, and in the tranſlation of the bond which expreſſes the condition of payment, and which allows only a preference to the charge of the two military corps and of his own office, after which it was poſitively agreed to apply the produce of the growing collections to the diſcharge of the bond.

I paſs over Mr. Briſtow's charges againſt Gopaul Doſs for the inſolence of employing an agent of his own nomination, in oppoſition to the choice of Mr. Briſtow, and for " abandoning thoſe prudent maxims by which " alone as merchants they ought to have regulated their " conduct," in declining to truſt Mr. Briſtow with a ſecond loan of 15 lacks (no ſmall ſum, nor the proper ſubject of perſonal compliment) after the refuſal to diſcharge the firſt. The claim of right to dictate to a banker, whom he ſhall employ as the agent of his affairs, and to appropriate all the money which the banker can raiſe, and for which he himſelf has occaſion, loſes both its degree and quality of preſumption in its compariſon with the uſurpation of the rights and power of an independent ſtate, and with the inſolence which could preſcribe to a ſovereign prince the number of horſes which he ſhould be allowed

allowed to ride, or the diſhes which ſhould be cooked for his table. While I remark the inconſiſtency of Mr. Briſtow's repreſentation, I am yet willing to ſuppoſe, as I before ſuggeſted, that he may have erred in the expreſſion, but not in the fact, and that he may mean to allude to ſome agreement made by Gopaul Doſs, after the ſettlement and advance of the firſt loan, though he affirms them to have taken place at the ſame time: but to eſtabliſh this ſolution of the difficulty, it will ſtill remain to prove that Gopaul Doſs did engage to make a further loan; and for this purpoſe, Mr. Briſtow muſt comply with the orders already ſo clearly expreſſed in our letter of the 25th November, "to tranſmit copies of the engagement with "Gopaul Doſs, and to explain in the cleareſt manner "all the circumſtances attending this tranſaction." It is not the cuſtom of bankers to make verbal engagements; and Salla Caſhaul Chund, Gopaul Doſs's agent, has aſſured me, on the authority of his maſter, that he made no ſuch engagement.

The following minute, from the Governor-general, was ſent with the foregoing on the 23d inſtant, to the other members of the Board, for their peruſal.

Governor-general.

The ſubject of Mr. Briſtow's letter of the 1ſt of November is alarming, not on account of its immediate effects, for they are paſt, but as it indicates ſo total a diſſolution of the powers of the Vizier's government as muſt have a tendency to excite ſimilar and repeated inſtances of ſedition. I ſhall make but one brief remark upon Mr. Briſtow's ſtate of this tranſaction, which is, that a tumult of the moſt flagitious kind was ſuffered to manifeſt itſelf in a gradual progreſs of ſome months, till it grew to ſuch magnitude as threatened the life of the Nabob Vizier himſelf, during a period, as Mr. Briſtow's letter ſtates, of three days, and I have reaſon to believe that it was of it yet longer duration; and that Mr. Briſtow, in all this important interval, appears to have ſtood by a quiet paſſive ſpectator, although he had a regiment of the Company's Sepoys, and his own body guard, which is nearly equal to a regiment of Sepoys, at his inſtant command; and might with ſuch a force have repelled the whole ſtrength of the Nabob Vizier's military eſtabliſhment, had it been united in ſo looſe and unconnected a ſpecies of hoſtility. This is a point which he ought to explain; for if he had it in his power to ſuppreſs the meeting, and did not, his conduct was criminal in the laſt degree; if otherwiſe, it concerns both his credit and

the honour of our government that the doubts which he has thrown on his own conduct ſhould be removed by a clear expoſition of it.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, 31ſt December 1783.

THE following minute having been received by the ſecretary, on the 28th inſtant, at noon, from Mr. Wheler, Mr. M'Pherſon, and Mr. Stables, it was ſent immediately by the ſecretary to the Governor general: and the minute in reply to it, which is entered after it, having been received from the Governor-general in the evening, was immediately circulated to the other members of the Board.

The Governor-general, in his minute of the 16th inſtant, having declined propoſing or joining in any order that may be iſſued concerning the advices lately received from Oude; having likewiſe ſtated a neceſſity which may exiſt, for authorizing Mr. Briſtow, in the event of our ſupport of him in the authority which he exerciſes, to aſſume avowedly the government of the Vizier's country, and to appoint agents and officers of government in the name of the Company; and having called upon us to adopt the inſtructions given to Mr. Briſtow, and call them thoſe of the Board (diſavowing them to be any longer thoſe of the Governor-general) or to make out other inſtructions for the guidance of Mr. Briſtow;—we deem it neceſſary to take theſe reſpective ſubjects into our moſt ſerious conſideration, and to conſider maturely what meaſures are moſt likely, in the preſent diſtreſſed ſituation of the Company's finances, to recover the heavy balances due to them by the Vizier, and to ſecure the tranquillity of his dominions.

As it is our moſt earneſt wiſh that ſuch meaſures ſhould be adopted, and as we ſhould think ourſelves more fortunate in meeting any arrangement that may favour the public good, and coincide with the Governor-general's ſentiments, than to eſtabliſh, on the cleareſt ground of argument, the force and juſtice of the opinions which we have already recorded relative to the affairs of Oude, we ſhall not recapitulate here what is already in reference to the Court of Directors; we ſhall not dwell on thoſe obligations which bind every member of the government to adopt and ſupport the reſolutions of the majority of its members; nor ſhall we even regret that the Vizier and Hyder Beg Cawn ſhould ultimately prevail in effecting the removal of the public miniſter of this government from Lucknow, if that removal can be productive of real and

and immediate advantage to the Company, and of more unanimity in our councils.

Upon the ſame principles we hope, if it ſhall be the mature and decided reſolution of this government to continue the preſent Reſident at Lucknow, and give him the inſtructions and powers which the occaſion renders neceſſary for the recovery of the Company's balances, and the regular payment of their troops, that the Governor-general will not think of withdrawing the very eſſential ſupport of his name and authority from thoſe meaſures which the majority of the Board may think requiſite for the maintenance of the Company's intereſts in Oude. To withhold that ſupport, would be in effect to render our utmoſt exertions of no public utility; for as it has been the cuſtom to carry on all correſpondence with the Vizier in the name and under the ſeal of the Governor-general, a deviation from this rule would not only invalidate the force of our repreſentations, but leave ground for thoſe evils which are to be removed.

The object of appointing a Reſident at the Vizier's court, as well as of the inſtructions which ſhould be the guide of his conduct, muſt be principally directed to the payment of the Company's claims upon the Vizier, and the good order of his government.

Mr. Briſtow, appointed to this ſtation by the Company, and furniſhed with the moſt ample powers and inſtructions, has not ſucceeded in recovering the Company's balances, or in acting to the ſatisfaction of the native adminiſtration of the Vizier's country. The Vizier and his acting miniſter have complained againſt him, and requeſt not only his removal from Oude, but that the Engliſh reſidency ſhould be entirely withdrawn. Mr. Briſtow has on the other hand ſtated the oppoſitions he has met with in carrying through the meaſures which he underſtood to be recommended to him in his inſtructions; and he now ſtates, in various repreſentations, that unleſs he is fully authorized and ſupported by this government, he cannot ſecure the neceſſary receipts of money and proviſion for the abſolute wants of the troops, which the Company have ſtationed for the protection of the Vizier's country, and to prevent evils the moſt alarming to the public intereſt.

The alternative, therefore, which the Governor-general has ſtated, in his minutes of the 16th December, preſſes the adoption in one way or other. In other words, this government muſt effectually reſolve to truſt to the Vizier's adminiſtration for the payment of the Company's claims, and the maintenance of their troops in his country, or the Reſident muſt be ordered to exerciſe the powers of his

office, to recover thoſe aſſignments that have been granted on the Vizier's revenues, by making the Aumils anſwerable to the Company for the debt.

As we have approved of Mr. Briſtow's management hitherto, and as that approbation has been fully ſtated upon the Company's records, and as we have further a high opinion of the merits and integrity of Mr. Cowper, nominated by the Company to ſucceed Mr. Briſtow, we cannot think ourſelves juſtified in aſſenting to their removal at the requeſt of the Vizier's adminiſtration, if the object of that removal was merely a change of agents. On the contrary, the oppoſition of Hyder Beg Cawn to theſe gentlemen is, in our opinion, a convincing proof that they have not not yielded to that influence which was the ground for removing the former Reſident.

If, therefore, it ſhould be thought expedient to recall Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper from Oude, and make an experiment of Hyder Beg's agency, as propoſed in his own and the Vizier's letters, received 7th April, we muſt explicitly declare, for ſuch is our real opinion, that Mr. Briſtow has our approbation for his exertions to diſcharge the duties of his ſtation; that in the event of the reſidency being now withdrawn, and afterwards reſtored, from a failure on the part of the Vizier's agents, we ſhall think Mr. Briſtow entitled to ſucceed to the charge of the office, and Mr. Cowper to the ſucceſſion to it, as ordered by the Company; and that it will be proper that the Vizier and his miniſters ſhould be informed in letters, to be delivered by Mr. Briſtow, of theſe ſeveral reſolutions of the majority of the Board.

To bring the queſtion at once to iſſue, we think it expedient, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, to agree to the recall of Mr. Briſtow from Oude, with the preceding reſervations, and to withdraw the reſidency entirely, according to the original requeſt of the Vizier and his acting miniſter, provided the preſent balance due to the Company, of lacks, is paid into the Company's treaſury, by bills on creditable bankers, payable, half in one month, and the remaining half in two months, from the date of Mr. Briſtow's ſurrender of his office to the Vizier; and provided further, that the current kiſts for the payment of the brigade at Caunpore, and of Sir John Cummings's detachment, are paid regularly and monthly by the miniſter to the Company's paymaſters in Oude.

We ſhall agree to this arrangement, on the expreſs condition that the Governor-general will hold himſelf reſponſible to the Company and the public for the faithful performance of theſe engagements on the part of the Vizier and his miniſter, as well as for the ſecurity of the internal

internal peace of the country: to maintain which, and enforce theſe arrangements, we ſhall give him our utmoſt ſupport.

Should the Governor-general think this reſponſibility more than he ſhould undertake, and ſhould be of opinion that the conteſt between the Reſident's authority and that of the native adminiſtration in Oude has already created embarraſſments too great for the ſucceſs of his plan, he leaves no alternative, but that of giving the orders of a divided adminiſtration to the preſent Reſident to execute the duties of his office, and to conſider his inſtructions from the Governor-general, which are already in his poſſeſſion, as thoſe of the Board, with any future explanations they may think it neceſſary to give relative to ſome articles of them.

A true copy. E. W.
E. Hay, J. M'P.
Secretary. J. S.

Governor-general. 28th Dec. 1783.

I have read, with more than common attention, the minute ſigned by the other members of the Board, and delivered to me this morning.

I ſincerely regret the loſs of time and trouble which they have beſtowed on the ſubjects of my minutes, recorded on the 16th inſtant. Nothing was further from my intention or expectation. Poſſibly my ſentiments, delivered verbally on the inſtant occaſion which produced them, were defective in preciſion; or poſſibly their direct meaning has been overlooked, in too extenſive a conſideration of the ſubject. I had no other deſign or object than to warn the Board of the dangers which might attend the Company's intereſts in the government of Owde, and thoſe of our own provinces, in their relation to it, by the irregular and unauthorized power aſſumed by Mr. Briſtow, their Reſident, and by the indeciſion of the Board on the points referred to them, both by the Nabob Vizier, and by the Reſident himſelf. I ſtated to the Board, that if it was determined to ſupport Mr. Briſtow's pretenſions, it was neceſſary to go further, and authorize him to avow the power which he had aſſumed, and to exerciſe it in the Company's name; and in that caſe I deſired that my inſtructions might be withdrawn, and others framed by the Board for his guidance, that the reſponſibility might reſt, as it ought, on them, for the ſyſtem which had the ſanction of their approbation, againſt my judgment, and myſelf exonerated from it. I conceive, that in this requiſition, I have inſiſted on nothing which

is contrary to reaſon, or which can be denied me on any ground of reaſon.

I have not in anywiſe diſclaimed the "obligations "which bind every member of the government to adopt "and ſupport the reſolutions of the majority of its mem- "bers."—Neither have I ſaid, that I ſhould "withdraw "the ſupport of my name and authority from thoſe mea- "ſures which the majority of the Board may think re- "quiſite for the maintainance of the Company's intereſts "in Owd." I am ſorry that theſe ſuppoſitions have been uſed in application to me, for I know not what may be the "reſolutions of the majority of the members" of the Board, which may require me to acknowledge their obligation on me; nor "the meaſures which the majority of "the Board may think requiſite for the maintenance of "the Company's intereſts in Owd."

The Board has yet formed no reſolutions—no meaſures: when they ſhall have formed them, I ſhall deem them binding on me to give them all the ſupport which my name and authority can give them; but with this reſervation, that if they ſhall be repugnant to my ſenſe of the principles of honour, juſtice, and public faith, I ſhall deem the obligation void, and appeal to that power which impoſed it for my acquittal; knowing that no power upon earth can impoſe upon me the obligation of doing what is morally wrong, and conceiving it to be a ſpecies of treaſon to apply it even in the moſt remote ſuppoſition to the high and moſt reſpectable authority to which I allude.

As to the ſeal of the Governor-general, or his ſpecial correſpondence, ſurely theſe forms will not be required for the purpoſe of announcing to the Nabob Vizier the annihilation of his authority, and the elevation of Mr. Briſtow's in its ſtead; if ſuch ſhall be the final determination of the Board, an event which I am warranted by the terms of the minute before me to ſuppoſe, there will be no need to tell the Nabob Vizer in form, what will be viſible to all the world, and what he, if he has feelings, will be the firſt to feel and know.

Having thus explained the ſentiments which I have before ſubmitted to the Board, and diſclaimed the conſtructions which have been applied to them, I muſt decline to take upon myſelf the reſponſibility which is ſtated to be required of me, in the event of their conſenting to remove Mr. Briſtow, and his aſſiſtant Mr. Cowper.

The members of the Board have furniſhed me with the moſt powerful argument both to refuſe it and to juſtify the refuſal, by the blank ſpace which they have been obliged to leave in the place where the ſum ought to be expreſſed,

expreſſed, which was to ſpecify the preſent balance due to the Company, and one object of my reſponſibility. This is not an inaccuracy, for the Board know not the preſent balance which is due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company. It ſtood, at the cloſe of Mr. Briſtow's account of the 31ſt October, at 51,25,184. 11. 2. To what amount it may have ſince accumulated, I cannot conjecture, for I have no materials; but I believe it impoſſible for the Nabob Vizier "to pay one half" even of this ſum into the the Company's treaſury, by bills on creditable bankers, payable in one month, and the remaining half in two more from the date of Mr. Briſtow's ſurrender of his office to the Vizier; nor if the Nabob Vizier would engage to pay it, and I believed him capable of paying it, "would I hold myſelf reſponſible to the Company, "and to the public, for the faithful performance of ſuch "an engagement," becauſe I do not think it conſiſtent with truth, or the regard which every man ought to pay to his own reputation, to bind himſelf to the performance of acts which depend ſolely on the ability and will of another.

It is not my deſire that the other members of the Board ſhould make any conceſſions to my opinions or wiſhes. They will act as they ſhall beſt judge, from the ſuperior conſideration of the duty which they owe to the honour, credit, and intereſts of the Company. I only preſs them to decide, and am ſorry that they ſhould hold out to me ſo deſperate an alternative, as that which is too plainly indicated in the laſt paragraph of their minute;—namely, of requiring from me the pledge of a reſponſibility which I cannot grant, or of leaving the adminiſtration of Owd, and the Company's intereſts in it, to a ſtate of total indeciſion, by referring Mr. Briſtow for his guidance to inſtructions which can have no longer any force, and which are, in every article, contradictory of the ſyſtem which he has adopted, and which the Board have hitherto ſupported, and ſtill manifeſt their reſolution to ſupport.

Before I conclude, I ſhall deſire to ſolicit the recollection of the Board to the great length of time which has elapſed ſince I firſt laid before them the complaints of the Nabob Vizier, all tending to ſhew that Mr. Briſtow's acts and pretenſions had thrown the government and country of Owd into a ſtate of weakneſs bordering on anarchy: and Mr. Briſtow himſelf, in his repreſentations of the ſame ſubjects, has inſiſted on the ſame concluſion, but has aſcribed it to another cauſe. It is evident, from Mr. Briſtow's laſt letters, that the diſorders of that ſtate have been greatly augmented, and that the power which he has aſſumed, though unreſiſted at the Court of the Nabob

Nabob Vizier, has produced only the ſpirit of contumacy, revolt, and embezzlement in its dependencies, independently of the public diſcredit which the Engliſh name has ſuffered by ſo long a ſubjection and oppreſſion of the ſovereign of the country in alliance with the Company.

This ſtate of affairs has now exiſted almoſt twelve months, and it is more than eight ſince the Board has been acquainted with it. The acknowledged event has demonſtrated the danger of leaving it ſo long without the attempt at leaſt to apply a remedy to it; and a ſhort continuance of the ſame indeciſion may render it incurable.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

Read the following minute from Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherſon, and Mr. Stables.

By Mr. Briſtow's accounts of the Lucknow treaſury received yeſterday, the balance due the beginning of this month was 53 lacks. We could not imagine nor ſuggeſt that the Governor-general ſhould be anſwerable in his private fortune for ſo large a ſum, or that his reſponſibility for the payment of it, or for the payment of the current kiſts, ſhould extend further than thoſe obligations which conſtitute reſponſibility in a decided recommendation of any meaſure, contrary to the general opinion of the majority of the Board, ſuch even as the Governor-general has expreſſed in the cloſe of his minute 21ſt October; wherein he ſays (ſpeaking of the ſecurity of bankers of *known credit and reſponſibility*, tendered by the Vizier) "*I maintain that we ought to accept this offer.*"

The Governor-general is better acquainted, from his long reſidence in this country, than we can be, with the validity of the bankers' ſecurity, thus offered by the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter. We wiſh that ſecurity, or a better, if it could be obtained, to be lodged in the treaſury, before we withdraw the Reſidency; and we imagine that the declared propoſition of reſtoring the reſidency to the charge of Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper, if the Vizier's miniſter fail in theſe payments, would bind them to a more punctual performance of their engagements.

It will on all accounts be neceſſary to inform the Vizier and his miniſter immediately, that the Company's troops in Oude muſt be paid their arrears, and ſupplied with

with proviſions. We approve of the Vizier's reſolution of reſtoring the Jaghires; but the Company's claims upon them ſhould be firſt diſcharged (if ſuch exiſt) ſo that they be reſtored without incumbrance; and the Reſident ſhould in our opinion, be directed to concert with the Vizier the beſt means of diſcharging Gopal Doſs's debt, which appears to be in ſome train of payment; he ſhould be further directed to releaſe the Aumil of Rohilcund, after taking proper ſecurity for the arrears due by the ſaid Aumil.

Theſe points, and others relative to the ſituation of the Company's in Oude, we conſider to demand the immediate orders of this government, independant of the complaints againſt Mr. Briſtow, upon which we have already given our deciſion.

If therefore the Governor-general will not take upon himſelf the reſponſibility which we have ſtated in our minute of the 28th inſtant, and there more clearly explained, relative to the balances due to the Company in Oude, the current kiſts, and the expedient of withdrawing the reſidency, it only remains for us to call upon his ſupport to the orders which we have pointed out in this minute, as neceſſary to be carried into execution, or to direct the ſecretary to inform Mr. Briſtow of the reſolution expreſſed in the cloſe of our laſt minute; viz. that he is to conſider the inſtructions he has already as thoſe of the Board, and to act under them in the diſcharge of his duty, informing the government of the obſtructions that impede him in the neceſſary exerciſe of it.

A true Copy. (Signed) E. W.
E. Hay, J. M'P.
Secretary. J. S.

31ſt December 1783.

The Governor General.

I can have no objection to charge myſelf with the reſponſibility, in the terms of the explanation given of it in the preceding minute; that is to ſay, that the offer made by the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter, to give the ſecurity of bankers of known credit and reſponſibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and for the current demands of this year, be accepted, with the condition expreſsly annexed, of the recall of Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper; and that I will conſent to be ſpecially anſwerable for the propriety of the meaſure.

In making this declaration, I rely upon the promiſe of ſupport made to me by the members of the Board in their former minute, and I aſſent to the other conditions of the laſt.

The

The ſtate of the Nabob Vizier's dominions will render it neceſſary to leave the ſums of the monthly payments, and the ultimate period, to future adjuſtment. I will uſe my utmoſt influence to prevail upon the Nabob to regulate them in the manner moſt favourable to the complete and ſpeedy diſcharge of the Company's debt; and as he has promiſed to abide by my recommendation in this buſineſs, I have no doubt of effecting it.

(Signed) W. HASTINGS.

The Board reſolve to withdraw the reſidency from Lucknow, and to confirm the Governor-general's acceptance of reſponſibility and charge of affairs there, as expreſſed in his laſt minute; viz. that the offer made by the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter, to give the ſecurity of bankers of known credit and reſponſibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and for the current demands of this year, be accepted, with the condition annexed of the recall of Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper, the Governor-general conſenting to be ſpecially anſwerable for the propriety of the meaſure.

Agreed that the following letter be written to Mr. Briſtow.

To Mr. John Briſtow, Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Sir,

Though the Board have fully approved of your conduct ſince your late appointment to the office of Reſident at the Vizier's court, and though they have reſolved in conſequence to reſerve to you your claim and right to the office of Reſident at Owde, from the orders of the honourable Company, ſhould the office be deemed hereafter neceſſary;

We have come to the determination of accepting the offers which the Nabob Vizier has made of paying his debt and current kiſts to the Company, on condition that the reſidency ſhould be withdrawn from his court.

To fulfil this condition on our part, you will, on receipt of this letter, inform the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter, that you and Mr. Cowper, and the other gentlemen connected with the reſidency, are ready to withdraw from Lucknow, having received orders of recall.——But as the reſervation made in favour of your claims to the office of Reſident at Lucknow, might hereafter, if announced at the Vizier's court, be an argument with his miniſters for ſome future objections, you will be pleaſed to take no notice of this circumſtance, which we communicate only for your own ſatisfaction.

We

We make no doubt but the Nabob Vizier and his miniſters will afford you every aid to ſettle the concerns of your reſidency, and enable you to take your departure from Lucknow in the moſt amicable manner. The Governor-general will write to them upon this ſubject; and we truſt, that on your part you will endeavour to connect, as much as poſſible, the removal of your preſent ſtation with good order in the Vizier's affairs.—You will deliver over the accounts and neceſſary papers to Mr. Wombwell, who returns to his ſtation, and you and your aſſiſtants will return to Calcutta.—You will ſignify our orders to them accordingly.

We are, Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble Servants,
(Signed) Governor General and Council.

Fort William,
Secret Department,
31ſt December 1783.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

Mr. Wombwell being at preſent in Calcutta;

Ordered, That he be directed to repair immediately to Lucknow, and to receive charge from Mr. Briſtow of the accounts and papers of the Reſident's office.

Extract of the Secret Letter from Bengal; dated the 31ſt December 1783.

Par. 18. OUR late letters have informed you of the differences which have ſubſiſted in our opinions with reſpect to Mr. Briſtow's conduct at Lucknow.—The letters from Mr. Briſtow, as well as the complaints of the Vizier and his miniſter, ſhew clearly the ſtate of the diſpute: your troops in Oude fell ſeveral months in arrears; the claims upon the Vizier, independent of the current kiſts, amounted to upwards of 53 lacks of rupees; a famine had begun to prevail in his country, and evils of the moſt alarming nature were to be apprehended.—We refer to our proceedings for particulars.—The majority of our members ſupported Mr. Briſtow's conduct; the Governor-general condemned it. Differences at our own Board, and theſe differences known in the Vizier's dominions, could not but add to the public diſtreſs.—The repreſentations from the Vizier and his miniſter, as well as Mr. Briſtow, continued as ſtrong as ever. The Governor-general

general called on the majority to determine what ſhould be done; his inſtructions to Mr. Briſtow were declared by the Governor-general to be cancelled by his revocation of them, and the majority of the Board were required to furniſh Mr. Briſtow with new. The majority reſolved to take the matter into their ſerious conſideration; and on the 28th inſtant delivered in a minute, which with the Governor-general's anſwer to it, the reply from Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherſon, and Mr. Stables, and that from the Governor-general, accepting the propoſition of the majority, we have the honour to ſend numbers in this packet. —The reſult is, that we have reſolved to withdraw the reſidency from Lucknow, and to confirm the Governor-general's acceptance of reſponſibility and charge of affairs there, as expreſſed in his laſt minute; that is, that the offer made by the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter, to give the ſecurity of the bankers of known credit and reſponſibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and for the current demands of this year, be accepted, with the condition annexed of the recall of Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper, the Governor-general conſenting to be ſpecially anſwerable for the propriety of the meaſure.—But when we remove the reſidency from Lucknow, we reſerve to Mr. Briſtow his claim and right to that office by your orders, ſhould ſuch office be deemed hereafter neceſſary.—We have the honour to tranſmit to you a copy of our letter to Mr. Briſtow on this occaſion.

19. We have the honour to acquaint you, that in conſequence of the directions implied in your letter to us of the 14th of February laſt, of the diſtreſſes of the diſtrict of Ferocabad, the ſtrong repreſentations on this ſubject from the Nabob Mazuffer Jung, and his diſſatisfaction, as well as that of the Vizier, with the Sezawul appointed to remit the tribute from thence to Lucknow, we ſome time ſince appointed Mr. John Willes to be Reſident on the part of this government with the Nabob Mazuffer Jung, not doubting that the Vizier will confirm our choice of this gentleman; and for this purpoſe a letter has been addreſſed to his Excellency by the Governor-general.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, 8th October 1784.

READ the following letter, and encloſures, from Mr. Briſtow.

Honourable

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

I have been honoured through your ſecretary with the copy of a letter from the honourable the Governor-general, covering ſundry encloſures, on the mode of making my receipts and diſburſements during my late reſidency at the court of Owde, and I beg leave to offer you my acknowledgements for the opportunity hereby offered me of juſtifying my conduct.

I ſhall have little difficulty in replying to a charge, which ſets out with a confeſſion that I made your orders and regulations my invariable guide. To ſave your honourable Board the trouble of a reference, I take the liberty to encloſe copies of your orders in the year 1776 on this ſubject. It will appear, upon a peruſal of them, that they were intended to remedy the inconvenience of the very plan now propoſed by Hyder Beg Khan. If the aſſay table had been found unfair to the Vizier, he might, in the firſt inſtance, or at any ſucceeding period, during eight years of its continuance, have objected to it: he, on the contrary, at the concluſion of every year, was accuſtomed to approve and ſign the accounts of my predeceſſors in office; and it will be found, upon a comparative view of our accounts, that my mode of calculating the batta faithfully correſponds with that uſed by them. In thoſe days there were no complaints; and I am juſtified in remarking, that the preſent application to you, upon a point ſo clearly eſtabliſhed by your orders, and by precedent, has every appearance of perſonal enmity on the part of Hyder Beg Khan againſt me, without any conſideration of public good.

On an inſpection of the accounts of my predeceſſors, it will be found, that on all receipts from the Aumils of Rohilcund, the batta, as fixed in the aſſay table on Barelly rupees, was charged—on all receipts from Corah, that fixed on Corah rupees; and ſo with all the different ſpecies of rupees current in the Vizier's dominions, preciſely in the ſame manner as I have done. Nor do I ſee how any other mode than the one thus practiced by my predeceſſors, and myſelf, could with propriety have been adopted. I had no authority, in contradiction to an expreſs regulation of the Board, to alter the batta, which they had fixed on each particular ſpecie with a preciſion that left me no alternative. All the payments on account of the troops ſtationed in Rohilcund were made in Barelly rupees at the eſtabliſhed rate of batta; and had I adopted, as has ſometimes been found neceſſary, the ſimple method of tranſporting the revenues from ſeveral diſtricts in Hackeries to Lucknow; I muſt have paid the whole away to the paymaſters, and others to whom I had occaſion to make

make diſburſements, at the ſame rate. They would not have been ſatisfied with an opinion from me, that the exchange in the aſſay table was much over-rated—that the Batta in the Bazar had ſo fluctuated as to make them nearly in equal in value to the Sicca of the day—and that they ought therefore to receive them as ſuch. They would, in anſwer to all this, have produced the eſtabliſhed rates, and required payment accordingly, and I muſt have complied. By adopting, on the other hand, the method of negociating bills, the diſtant diſtricts were not drained of their ſpecie, and the Batta being ſtill charged as provided by the aſſay table, in the ſame manner as it muſt have been if tranſported in Hackeries, neither the Vizier nor the Company ſuſtained any loſs.

If the 23d, 24th, and 25th ſuns were indeed equal to ſtandard, it was more than I knew; the Sicca of the year has ever been valued, both in the aſſay table and in the receipts and diſburſements of my immediate predeceſſors in office, at the ſame rate as that charged in my accounts; and having ſo decided an authority as the former for my guidance, it never occurred to me to inveſtigate its accuracy. Hyder Beg Khan aſſerts to the Governor-general, that he had repreſented to me the Siccas of the late coinage, or 23d, 24th, and 25th ſuns, as having been made equal in weight and fineneſs to the ſtandard, and that I ought therefore to have received them as ſuch. I ſhall, in refutation of his aſſertion, content myſelf with obſerving, that Hyder Beg Khan has on this occaſion added one more to the numberleſs miſrepreſentations with which he has already ſtained your records.

I certainly knew that the aſſay table was eſtabliſhed, "becauſe the ſeveral ſpecies were proportionably inferior "to the ſtandard, or Fyzabad 16 ſun Sicca;" and this conviction alone, independant of the reaſons I have already urged, would have deterred me from making any alteration in the eſtabliſhed practice, or attempting to regulate the rates of Batta by the fluctuations in the Bezar. I had well-grounded hopes that I might have been ſo fortunate as to realize the whole, or nearly the whole, of the Company's claims upon the Nabob; and I have no doubt, but for the obſtructions thrown in my way by the intrigues of the miniſter, that I ſhould have ſucceeded in this expectation. I ſhould then have been enabled to ſend down to the preſidency a conſiderable ſum in ſpecie; and it would have afforded me ſingular ſatisfaction to have been inſtrumental in removing, or at leaſt in alleviating, the very great ſcarcity of ready money ſo generally felt in Calcutta. In that caſe had I regulated the Batta conformably to the fluctuations in the Bezar, inſtead of the

aſſay

aſſay table, and the Barelly rupees had been received from the Vizier, agreeable to the honourable the Governor-general's ſtatement of the caſe, at 20 or 25 per cent. diſcount, in lieu of 42. 10. 9, as eſtabliſhed by aſſay, ſuppoſing the calculations in the table to be accurate, the Company on ſending them to the Mint would have ſuffered a loſs of near 20 per cent. by an unauthorized deviation on my part from the Board's poſitive and moſt explicit orders.

It now only remains for me to remark on the Gourſhies, the ſpecie in which the revenues of Kiſſagur are paid. It happened that there were few of them in circulation at Lucknow; I was therefore, in my negotiations for realizing the amount of the Company's aſſignment on that diſtrict, commonly under the neceſſity of receiving Lucknow ſiccas, at the exchange of the day. Theſe were in the market never inferior in value to the Goorſhies, and were often one per cent. better. I however thought it my duty, as the Aumil had engaged in his Cabooleat to pay goorſhies, to give the Vizier credit in my accounts for that ſpecie, at a diſcount of only 2. 2. 6 per cent. agreeable to the aſſay table; whereas, as has been ſhewn above, I received Lucknow rupees ſometimes at par, and often with a deduction of 1 per cent. on which I was obliged in my diſburſements to allow a batta of 5. 9. 3 per cent.; hence it clearly appears, that on my receipts from Kiſſagur I ſuſtained, upon an average, a loſs of about 3 per cent. which I thought it better to ſubmit to, in the hope that it would be made up to me upon the whole exchange, than by the expedient already mentioned of tranſporting the revenue in hackeries to drain that diſtrict of its ſpecie—yet has Hyder Beg Khan, with a blind inveteracy, included even theſe receipts in his moſt fallacious eſtimate of the Vizier's loſſes.

The Governor-general in his letter obſerves, "it might "be ſuppoſed that the Reſident would make uſe of his "influence to cauſe a great proportion of the payments "to be made in thoſe ſpecies which were in the aſſay "table moſt depreciated in compariſon of their current "and intrinſic value."—That I had, during the whole of my late reſidency, no influence equal the production of ſuch effects, is fully evinced in my having been unable, with the ample powers delegated to me in my inſtructions, to execute any the moſt minute point of reform therein ſo forcibly enjoined me: with how much greater force does the honourable the Governor-general's reaſoning apply to Hyder Beg Khan, who, with an influence ſo effectual, and the abſolute controul he poſſeſſed over every department and every individual of the Vizier's

government, could with eaſe either have debaſed the coin, or enhanced the value of every ſpecie, as might beſt ſuit his intereſted purpoſe, if not reſtrained by ſome ſpecific regulation, ſuch as the aſſay table?

I never interfered in the detail; and my general inſtructions for the management of the treaſury enjoined a rigid adherence to the aſſay table, and to the forms in uſe by my predeceſſors. When, in the month of September laſt, I laid my accounts for the preceding year (1190 Fuſſulee) before the Vizier and his miniſter, no ſuch objections as theſe now ſtated were urged. My accounts were found ſtrictly conformable, both in form and matter, to former uſage, and were approved accordingly. Could Hyder Beg Khan have diſcovered any thing chargeable with ſuch matter of accuſation as he has now thought proper to produce againſt them, it is not probable that in his anxiety at that period to effect the removal of your Reſident, who, without power indeed to controul, yet unceaſingly watched his conduct: it is not probable, I ſay, that ſo circumſtanced he would have neglected ſo promiſing a proſpect of accompliſhing this his favourite object. He had ſhewn himſelf anxiouſly diſpoſed to criminate my conduct in every inſtance; and it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe he would have omitted an accuſation of this nature, when he had not heſitated to produce, as charges againſt me, complaints ſtamped with the moſt unequivocal proofs of my zeal for your ſervice, and his determined oppoſition to every meaſure, however forcibly recommended by you, that militated in any ſhape againſt the uncontrouled power and influence he had ſo many years enjoyed over the Vizier's dominions.

Fort William, 2d October 1784. I have the honour, &c. (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

In addition to what has been ſaid, I beg leave to trouble you with an obſervation which I did not introduce into the body of this letter, as not being immediately connected with the ſubject, though, as it exhibits a cuſtom eſtabliſhed in your own provinces ſimilar to that in which my defence is founded, it may not improperly follow in this place.

That in the year 1773 a table, containing the different rates of batta on the various ſpecies of rupees receiveable in the courſe of the collections, was eſtabliſhed by authority, in order that the government might have ſome fixed rule to aſcertain the value of rupees, and not be ſubject to the daily fluctuations in the Bezar exchange; and I underſtand that the ſame rates are ſtill in force, and that all payments of revenue at the public treaſuries, when made

made in various ſorts of rupees, are ſtill regulated by the ſtandard.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor-general and Council to Mr. John Briſtow, Reſident at Owde; dated 8th January 1776.

WE tranſmit you a copy of our Aſſay-maſter's reports of the exact value of the Fyzabad Sicca rupees, and the comparative proportion which the other rupees received in payment from the Nabob bear to that ſpecie.

We deſire you will adjuſt the accounts of the late Vizier, and of the preſent Nabob of Owde conformably to theſe rates.

Report of the Comparative Values to Fyzabad Siccas, and Battas on ſundry Species of Rupees, received by the Honourable Company from the Nabob of Owde, and re-coined in the Mint at Fort William.

SPECIES OF RUPEES.	Number.	Weight.	Comparative Values.	Better than Fyzabad Siccas.	Worſe than Fyzabad Siccas.
		Sicca Wt. A. P.	Eſtabliſhed Standard.		
Fyzabad Sicca Rupees — —	100	96 12 —	100		
				R. A. P.	
Old Delhi Rupees — — —	100	97 — —	102, 902	2 14 5 per cent.	
New Do. Do. — — —	100	97 — —	102, 902	2 14 5 Do.	
Fyzabad Rupees, of 15 and 16 ſun —	100	96 8 —	101, 507	1 8 1 Do.	
Old Banaras — — —	100	96 14 —	100, 342	— 5 5 Do.	
Do. Jugda — — —	100	96 12 —	101, 796	1 12 3 Do.	
Do. Pranchmail — —	100	96 14 —	101, 895	1 14 3 Do.	
Pranchmail — — —	100	96 11 —	99, 937	— —	— 1 — per cent.
Do. ſecond ſort — — —	100	96 14 —	99, 680	— —	— 5 — Do.
Banaras Fuſuli — — —	100	96 8 —	98, 637	— —	1 5 9 Do.
Old Vizeiry Rupees — —	100	95 4 —	92, 350	— —	7 10 4 Do.
14 Sonne Do. —— —— —	100	95 8 —	91, 937	— —	8 1 — Do.
Janjee Do. —— —— —	100	95 7 —	79, 431	— —	20 9 1 Do.
9 Sonne Viziery Rupees — —	100	95 — —	70, 385	— —	29 9 10 Do.

Aſſay Office,
20th Nov. 1775.

(Signed) WM. PAXTON.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor General and Council, to Mr. Briſtow; dated 13th June 1776.

In our letter of the 8th of January, we directed that the account of the difference of Batta between Fyzabad Siccas and rupees of inferior aſſortments, received in payment from the Nabob of Owd, ſhall be aſcertained by the difference in their intrinſic value, and not by the fluctuating exchange of the Bazer. We are not ſure that you have followed this rule in the accounts which you have lately tranſmitted to us. We deſire, therefore, that you will inform us on what ſtandard you form the Batta inſerted in your caſh account of the 31ſt March; and direct, that if that account be not drawn out with the Batta equivalent to the difference between the intrinſic value of the inferior ſpecies of rupees and Fyzabad Siccas, agreeable to the Aſſay Maſter's report, which has been tranſmitted you for that purpoſe, you will ſend us a rectified account, drawn out according to that rule, and that you will literally conform to this in all your future accounts. We are very deſirous of receiving your accounts for April as ſoon as poſſible, adjuſted in this manner; as the accountant, for want of them, cannot balance the books to that period, or complete an eſtimate of reſources for the preſent year.

We deſire that you will aſcertain and report to us the weight and fineneſs of a Bangalo Sicca, which we ſuppoſe to be the ſame as the Fyzabad Sicca, or the current Sicca of the province of Owde; and that you will inform us of the current rate of exchange between thoſe Siccas and Patna Sunats at Fyzabad or Lucknow. Our motive for making theſe enquiries ariſes from a repreſentation which has been lately made to us, that the rupees iſſued in payment to the army are in reality five per cent. worſe than the Patna Sunats, and that this difference is made to them in their pay, but withheld in their Batta and other allowances. We are at a loſs to know whether the 5 per cent. which is allowed to the troops in their pay, be an exceſs, or whether they are deprived of their due by its not being extended alſo to their other allowances. We therefore requeſt that you will take pains to gain all the information upon this ſubject in your power, to aſſiſt us in our deſire to do juſtice to the army and to the Company in our deciſion upon it.

A true Extract,

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Read another letter from Mr. Briſtow, as follows:

Gentlemen,

I have had the honour to receive your ſecretary's letters of the 1ſt July, 26th of Auguſt, and 2d inſtant.

The Governor-general having informed you, in his letter of the 14th of June laſt, that he ſhould ſoon have occaſion to addreſs you again on the ſubject of my diſburſements, and as he had ſtated no ſpecific objection to them, it was out of my power to give a ſatisfactory explanation. I ſuppoſed the ſubject of the Batta was connected with that of my diſburſements; and I truſt it will appear, upon an inſpection of the account, that my ſuppoſition was well founded. My waiting therefore for further explanations, eſpecially as they were ſo ſoon to be expected, will, I hope, be approved of by you.—It did not proceed from diſreſpect to your commands, for I could not but be exceedingly anxious to afford you ſatisfaction on points of ſuch magnitude, in the event of which both my character and fortune were apparently involved.—— I relied on your juſtice not to expect a defence, while the accuſations preferred againſt me were incompleat.

I now ſee that it was a natural conſequence of the general principle of the acting miniſter's conduct, that he ſhould produce fallacious accounts againſt me, knowing, as he did, that the ſeveral repreſentations which I made to you on the ſtate of the Vizier's revenue exhibited an annual decreaſe of near a Crore of rupees, at the expiration of the fifth year of his adminiſtration.—In making theſe repreſentations I acted in ſtrict conformity to your commands, which inſtructed me to obtain "an early and "minute knowledge of the ſtate of the province of Owde "eſpecially, and the reſt of the Nabob Vizier's domi-"nions, and report the reſult of my enquiries." If in the diſcharge of my duty, and in ſelf defence, I have unavoidably expoſed circumſtances which have criminated Hyder Beg Khan, and excited his perſonal reſentment, it is to your juſtice that I muſt truſt to a due conſideration of our relative ſituations.—I now beg leave to repeat my acknowledgements for the opportunity afforded me, of vindicating my conduct by ſo candid and fair a communication of the charges.

I deny that the Vizier has any claim upon me. So far as the imperfect lights afforded me in the firſt inſtance would admit, I had prepared a full refutation of the complaint on the mode "of making my receipts and diſburſe-"ments;" and finding it correct, I have now accordingly delivered it in. The other complaint, of "my "having

" having incurred certain unauthorized diſburſements," exhibits a variety of new matter, to which I could not poſſibly have prepared any defence. It will require ſome days to examine and arrange the papers, and I muſt ſolicit your permiſſion for this delay.

Your ſecretary's letter of the 26th of Auguſt, covering the copy of one from the honourable the Governor-general, directs me to acquaint you " why I did not in-" timate to the Vizier your wiſh that the two Roſſalahs " of cavalry, which returned with the detachment from " the weſt of India, might be kept up at the ſtations of " Cawnpore and Futty Ghur?"

I have the honour to inform you, that no wiſh or reſolution of your honourable Board to the above effect was ever communicated to me. As I was apprehenſive that your commands on this ſubject might by ſome accident have miſcarried, I applied to your ſecretaries, Meſſrs. Bruere and Hay, by whom I am informed, that they had no orders to communicate any ſuch reſolution to me, and that it paſſed ſubſequent to my recall.

Calcutta, I have the honour, &c.
4th Oct. 1784. (Signed) J. BRISTOW.

To the honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, Governor-general, &c. Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William.

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

I SHALL now do myſelf the honour of replying to the objections offered by the Nabob Vizier againſt certain articles of my diſburſements; but as the account tranſmitted by me to Hyder Beg Cawn was not ſufficiently explicit on the heads under which the ſeveral ſums were diſburſed, I have therefore given it a new form. The encloſure, No. 1, will explain the particulars. The paper, No. 2, contains my ſeparate reply to each article of objection.

In the years 1775 and 1776, when I had the good fortune to execute all your commands with ſucceſs, the charges of the reſidency were upon a very moderate ſcale; with reſpect to the increaſe of them ſince, I humbly conceive no reſponſibility can reſt with me, for inſtitutions which did not originate through my agency, or by my advice. If my diſburſements were improper, it is to Hyder Beg Cawn, who now complains of them, that a principal ſhare of the blame ſhould be attributed. He poſſeſſed the unparticipated and entire adminiſtration of the Vizier's affairs; he was the agent through whom they were firſt eſtabliſhed.

The ſeveral inſtances in which the Nabob Vizier denies the having given his ſanction to my diſburſements, though incurred in conformity to his orders, are particularly deſerving your notice; ſuch an extraordinary conduct is hardly to be attributed to the Vizier himſelf. Indeed I obſerve in the honourable the Governor-general's letter of the 25th Auguſt, that it is Hyder Beg Cawn who prepared and delivered the expoſition. I am therefore juſtified in conſidering the objections ſtated in the name of the Nabob Vizier, not as his, but as his miniſter's.

When Hyder Beg Cawn violates the faith and honour of his ſovereign, in cauſing him to deny expenditures to which he gave his ſanction, which no motive but a deſire to oblige induced me to make, and without the expectation or deſire of emolument to myſelf, it can only be attributed to his reſentment againſt me. In the amicable and familiar intercourſe which I had the honour to preſerve with the Vizier, he was accuſtomed to apply to me for various European commodities, and often to a conſiderable amount: with ſuch applications I never heſitated to comply, without requiring an authority in writing for each expenditure, the demand for which would have been degrading to the Vizier, and diſgraceful to your repreſentative. Such were the reaſons that induced me to advance the money on account of the clothing and coral upon a verbal application.

If I erred in making the accuſtomed diſburſements of my office, it was in judgment, but not from intereſted motives. Hyder Beg Cawn was apprized of my intentions concerning the allowances of the gentlemen, and he aſſented to them.

I have produced poſitive evidence that many articles which the Vizier is now made to diſallow, were authorized by him, and that Hyder Beg Cawn was himſelf the agent through whom that authority was granted. If my diſburſements had exceeded thoſe of my predeceſſor, the miniſter's conduct might carry with it an appearance of juſtice; but the contrary is notorious, for my diſburſements were upon a reduced ſcale. All theſe circumſtances conſidered, I flatter myſelf that accuſations founded in prejudice will never be ſuffered to injure my reputation; and I truſt that my private fortune cannot be made reſponſible for charges incurred either under written or verbal authority, or according to the preſcriptive uſage of my predeceſſors in office, from which, I again beg leave to repeat, no poſſible emolument could fall to my ſhare.

I continued the official expences which I found eſtabliſhed on my arrival at Lucknow, and the gentlemen who received

received allowances from the Reſident had either appointments directly from your honourable Board, or your permiſſion to reſide at Lucknow. I knew not that the allowances paid by my predeceſſors for years paſt had been cenſured or reprobated by you; but whether thoſe allowances were exorbitant, or the principle which eſtabliſhed them improper, the reſponſibility of the meaſure reſts, as I have already remarked, with Hyder Beg Cawn, through whoſe agency it originated; and I could not ſuppoſe a new ſanction was requiſite, while I acted only in conformity to the uſage of my office.

When the reſidency was aboliſhed, I conſidered it incumbent on me to cloſe all accounts, and diſcharge all demands. It was certainly my duty to pay the allowances of the aſſiſtants before my authority ceaſed; the recovery of their claims at any future period would have reſted on the pleaſure of the miniſter, and muſt have been precarious. The greateſt proportion of the diſburſements made by me was iſſued from time to time, as occaſions occurred, and the exigencies of the ſervice required. It would have been impoſſible to have executed the duties of my office unleſs I had defrayed theſe diſburſements, and it was not to be expected that I ſhould make them from my private fortune. The ſum actually paid by me at the abolition of the reſidency did not amount to four lacks of rupees; and it was not to be ſuppoſed that the arrangements made by the miniſter, in conſequence of his engagements to diſcharge upwards of ſeventy lacks, the balance then due to the Company, could be affected by a diſburſement comparatively ſo trifling.

I have now replied to the accuſations preferred againſt me. I have, upon ſolid and juſt grounds, conſidered them as originating from Hyder Beg Cawn, although the name of his ſovereign is brought forward to authenticate his aſſertions; I am therefore to regard him as the ſole evidence againſt me; and were I to object to the credibility of the witneſs who thus impeaches my character and conduct, I ſhould not deviate from the rules of ſelf-defence, or the laws of juſtice: but this point I ſubmit to your conſideration; to your impartiality I appeal for my conviction or acquittal; and, though I might be able to prove the conduct of Hyder Beg Cawn devoid of truth and integrity; though I might be able to ſhew the motives that have influenced him to perſevere in a premeditated attack upon my honour and character, by preferring and repeating the moſt unprovoked and unjuſtifiable accuſations; though I have the juſteſt grounds, in my opinion, for impeaching his adminiſtration during the eight years he has poſſeſſed the unparticipated and entire

authority

authority of the Vizier's government, I ſhall not at preſent trouble your honourable Board with the detail, in the confidence that I have ſaid enough to juſtify myſelf; and that, if you ſhould deem further arguments, proofs, or documents, neceſſary, you will not refuſe me the opportunity of ſubmitting them to your conſideration.

In order to preſent immediately to your view the character I have uniformly ſupported, and the approbation with which I have been honoured in all my conduct by your honourable Board, permit me to refer to the accompanying extracts of your proceedings.

In corroboration of what I have urged reſpecting Hyder Beg Cawn, I appeal to your records at large, and in particular to the following paragraph of my general inſtructions, dated the 23d of October 1782.

"4th. Immediately on your arrival found the diſpoſition of Hyder Beg Cawn; his conduct has for ſome time paſt been highly reproachable; till within theſe three months, when Mr. Johnſon aſſumed a large portion of his authority, he poſſeſſed, without controul, both the unparticipated and entire adminiſtration, with all the powers annexed to that government, the Nabob himſelf being, as he ever muſt be in the hands of ſome perſon, a mere cypher in his, and the ſanction by which he exerciſed his authority; yet he has dared both to uſe the Nabob's name, and even his ſeal affixed to letters, either dictated to the Nabob, or written for him without his knowledge, containing very improper demands on our government, and ſuch as evidently tended to promote Hyder Beg's influence and intereſt, and even to make him aſſume a very unbecoming tone of refuſal, reproach, and reſentment, in oppoſition to meaſures recommended by me, and even to acts done by my authority, in literal conformity to the Nabob's own earneſt ſolicitations, ſuch as the reſumption of the Jaghires, and the ſeizure of his father's treaſure, which has been ſo long ſuffered to remain in the hands of the Begum his mother, and the other conditions of the engagement exacted from me at Chunar."

I have the honour to be,
with the greateſt reſpect,
Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble Servant,
(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Calcutta,
26th Nov. 1784.

An

An Account of Receipts and Diſburſements made by Mr. Briſtow, as Reſident at Lucknow, from October 1782 *to January* 1784, *both inclusive*

RECEIPTS.

To caſh received, particulars, agreeable to the account tranſmitted to Hyder Beg Cawn, the Vizier's acting miniſter - - - —		11,41,729	15 —
Since received in full, from the Farmer of Kyragur, through Captain Dennis - - -		8,000	— —
		11,49,729	15 —
Balance - -		14,367	14 11
Rupees -		11,64,097	13 11
Balance - -		14,367	14 11
Since cloſing the above account, Mr. Thomas tendered me payment of the ſum charged in the 7th reference to the Vizier's remarks - -		6,000	— —
Balance - -		8,367	14 11

DISBURSEMENTS.

2. Allowance to the Reſident's Aſſiſtants, viz.

Mr. Cowper, firſt aſſiſtant, and appointed in ſucceſſion to the reſidency		1,05,425	11 3
Meſſrs. Swainſtone, Gregory, Saml. Middleton, Neave, and Holt, 16 months, at 2,000 each per month -		1,60,000	— —
Mr. Trevor Wheler, 5,000 rupees per month, for 16 months - -		80,000	— —
Rupees -		3,45,425	11 3

The Reſident's Official Diſburſements, viz.

Mr. Reybaud, a monthly writer, from the 23d Oct. 1782 to the end of March 1783, at 400 per month	2,116	2 —	

Mr.

Mr. Morgan, do. to 10 Jan. 1783, at 200 rupees per month - -		526	10 8
Mr. Michael, part of Oct. 1782 to 11th November do. - -		168	10 8
Mr. Daqnin, from the 23d Oct. 1782 to the 9th November 1783 - -		1,850	10 8
Mr. Sicklona, from Dec. 1782 to October 1783, inclusive - -		2,132	— —
Mr. Strong, 13 mos. at 200 rupees per month		2,600	— —
Mr. Jones, from 15th August 1783 to 31st Oct. 1783, at 400 rupees per month - -		1,000	— —
Do. and writers, from November 1783	572		
Do. Dec. ——	660		
Do. Jan. 1784	900		
		2,132	— —
Expence of monthly writers, for 16 months		12,526	2 —
Moonshy's office, from October 1782 to Jan. 1783, inclusive -		10,688	2 6
Treasury charges, do.		7,330	— —
Dawk charges under Ismael Beg, do. - -		36,273	— 6
Holas Roy, news writer at Fyzabad, and agent with the Begums, ditto - -		1,280	— —
Sundry disbursements made by Mr. Bristow -		50,446	6 6
The Resident was exclusively allowed above 1,200 rupees a month for his official disbursements, which sum was regularly received by Mr. Middleton: not being certain of the exact amount, I shall state it as above, at 1,200 rups. a month, for 16 months is 1,92,000			

Deduct

Deduct, already charged in part rs. 1,18,543 11 6		
	73,456 4 6	
		1,92,000 — —
Gentlemen whose Allowances were paid, exclusive of the Assistants; viz.		
Mr. Bruce, surgeon to the Vizier, and to the regiment stationed at Lucknow, 3,136 rupees per month, for 16 months	50,176 — —	
Mr. Orr, employed in the Accomptant's-office, at 2,000 rupees do. -	32,000 — —	
Mr. Taylor's salary, 1,000 rupees a month, for 16 months — 16,000		
Do. Dawk bearers 16,000		
	32,000 — —	
		1,14,176 — —
Rupees —		6,51,601 11 3
Dawks to the detachment under the command of Lieut. Colonel Knudson		385 — —
		6,51,986 11 3
3d. Khord Mehull, through Major Gilpin - - -		10,000 — —
Feeding the Begums' Elephants -		3,206 10 8
Mint expences, through Sheek Moraudoola - - -		4,275 — —
Price of an Elephant given to Major Lumsdane, upon the capture of Bulbudder		1,400 — —
Gratuity to Tuckey Beg and Ismael Beg, at the time of Bulbudder's disturbances - - -		5,000 — —
Allowance to a Vackeel from Mahajee Scindia - - -		1,400 — —
Allowance to Mr. Thomas, surgeon, in part - - -		10,000 — —
Do. to Rajah Koshall Roy - -		8,000 — —
Expences incurred by Capt. Jaques, agreeable to the orders of the honourable the Governor General and Council -		6,161 7 —
Meer Umjud - - -		10,000 — —
Colonel Morgan, in lieu of Bazar duties - - - -		1,00,000 — —

Expence

Expence of tranſporting the Begums effects	480 — —	
Do. of the Arſenal, through Colonel Martine - -	9,118 15 —	
Colonel Cuming, in part of his allowances in lieu of Bazar duties -	50,000 — —	
Expence of purchaſing ſalt petre for the Arſenal - -	5,000 — —	
Sheik Cummall-uddine - -	1,000 — —	
		2,25,042 — 8
4. Reſident's guard - -		2,09,607 — —
5. Cloathing for 5 battalions of Sepoys, and 30,000 Flints - -		45,000 — —
6. Re-building the barracks, for the regiment ſtationed at Lucknow by Major M'Clary	12,900 — —	
Major Johnſtone, for erecting a ſhed for the ordnance attached to the regiment ſtationed at Lucknow, and for the reſidence of the European artillery men -	2,538 — —	
Lieut. Bie, repairing Do. in June 1783 -	589 8 —	
Lieutenant Shipton, Do. in Oct. 1783 -	534 10 —	
		16,562 2 —
7. Mr. Thomas, in part of his allowances - - -		6,000 — —
8. Mr. Mooty, for Coral, on account of the Vizier, and paid for by me agreeable to his Highneſs's order -		1,900 — —
9. Captain Dennis, in part of his claim for contingent expences incurred during his command in the province of Illahabad - - -		8,000 — —
Rupees -		11,64,097 13 11

Calcutta, the 26th Nov. 1784.

Errors excepted.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

An

An Account, containing the Nabob Vizier's Remarks on the contingent Charges incurred by Mr. John Briſtow, as Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

1ſt. RECEIPTS (viz.)

Siccas 5,99,611 — —					
Barrelly rupees 6,68,535 14 10½					
Corahs 1,33,576 — —					
			14,01,722	14	10½
Deduct Batta on the Barrelly rupees - 64,016 4 3					
Do. - on the Corah do. 7,515 6 3					
			71,531	10	6
Net amount, which the Vizier ſtates to have been collected by Mr. Briſtow, - Sicca rupees -			13,30,191	4	4½

2d. CHARGES (viz.)

To Mr. Oer - -		32,000	—	—
Mr. Abboo, writer -		2,116	—	—
Mr. Morgan, do. - -		526	10	8
Mr. Nungien, do. - -		168	6	—
Mr. Dubkin, do. - -		1,850	—	—
Mr. Suckloo, do. -		2,132	—	—
Mr. Aſtrorien, do. - -		2,600	—	—
Monſhies expences -		10,688	2	6
Hoolaſs Roy, news writer at Fyzabad		1,280	—	—
Mr. Hulbriſs, writer -		1,000	—	—
Writers under the above -		2,132	—	—
Expences of the officers of the treaſury		7,330	—	—
Allowances to the gentlemen under Mr. Briſtow -		3,45,425	11	3
Dawk charges under Iamael Bed		36,273	—	6
Mr. Taylor's allowance - 16,000 — —				
Do. for the Dawk bearers - 16,000 — —				
		32,000	—	—
Sundry diſburſements made by Mr. Briſtow - -		50,446	6	6
Allowance to Mr. Bruce, ſurgeon		50,176	—	—
Dawk expences to Colonel Knudſon		385	—	—
		5,78,530	—	—

The

The Nabob having allowed the ſum of 25,000 rupees per menſem to the Reſident, to defray the expences of the gentlemen under him, together with the office and dawk charges, &c. during the period of Mr. Briſtow's reſidence at his court, amounts to - 4,00,000 — —

The difference, being rupees 1,78,530. 4. 1, cannot be admitted.

3d. The Nabob admits in this remark ſundry diſburſements to the amount of 2,25,042 — 8.

4. Regarding the ſum which Mr. Briſtow ſtates to have been expended in pay to the battalion, cloathing them, and building them barracks, the Nabob obſerves that Mr. Briſtow has made an increaſe in the pay to the ſeven companies, and has alſo inſerted the expence of cloathing, and building barracks, without acquainting him therewith; yet to cauſe him no trouble he (the Nabob) is willing to admit it; viz.

Pay to the battalion - -	1,91,801 — —
Building barracks -	9,263 — —
Cloathing - -	8,536 — —
	2,09,607 — —

5th. Regarding the expence of purchaſing cloathing and flints, the Nabob obſerves it was incurred without his orders; but ſince Mr. Briſtow ſent them, he is willing to allow of this article being 45,000 — —

6th. Regarding the expence of building new barracks, and repairing others, the Nabob obſerves, that it was incurred without his orders or knowledge, and is therefore inadmiſſable; viz.

Building of new barracks -	11,458 6 —
By Major Johnſon -	2,538 8 —
Repairing do. through Mr. Petty	589 8 —
Do. — Do. - -	534 — —
	15,121 — —

7th. Mr. Briſtow inſerts the ſum of 16,000 rupees, as paid to Mr. Thomas, but Mr. Thomas acknowledges the receipt only of 10,000 rupees — difference 6,000 — —

8th. As

8th. As to the purchaſing * Pearls, the Nabob remarks that he does not know by what authority Mr. Briſtow has inſerted the expence, being -		1,900	—	—
9th. Exceſs in the allowances to the gentlemen under Mr. Briſtow, and other charges above mentioned -		1,78,530	4	1
10th. Batta, as ſtated by Mr. Briſtow	2,46,465	3	7	
Allowed by the Vizier -	71,531	10	6	
Difference -		1,74,933	9	1
11th. Difference in the collections of Khiragur, between Mr. Briſtow's and the Nabob's accounts, Mr. Briſtow having omitted to bring to account -		13,527	12	3½
12th. Balance unaccounted for in the account from Mr. Briſtow -		59,087	15	3
Deficiency in balance, ſaid to be left in Munſarum's hands -	51,441	10	—	
Accounted for through Colonel Cummings -	50,000	—	—	
Deficiency -		1,441	10	—
Rupees -		60,529	9	3
13th. Total amount of the ſum claimed by the Vizier — Sicca rupees		4,50,542	2	8½

Mr. BRISTOW in Reply.

1ſt. This ſum exceeds what I acknowledged to have received, the difference is cauſed by the mode of calculating my receipts and diſburſements, which conformed to the orders of the honourable the Governor-general and Council, and the practice of my predeceſſors. I have already explained this ſubject in my addreſs of the 2d Oct. to which I beg leave to refer.

2d. I entreat your permiſſion to place theſe ſums in the order they are ſtated in the accompanying account (No. 1) as the ſeveral heads under which they were diſburſed will then appear in a clearer point of view, (viz.)

Allowance to the Reſident's Aſſiſtants.

Mr. Cowper, firſt aſſiſtant, and appointed in ſucceſſion to the reſidency -	1,05,425	11	3

* *Should be Coral.*

Messrs. Swainton, Gregory, Samuel Middleton, Neave, and Holt, 16 months, at 2,000 rupees each per month - -			1,60,000 — —
Mr. Trevor Wheler, at 5,000 rupees per month for 16 months - -			80,000 — —
			3,45,425 11 3

Resident's Official Disbursements.

Mr. Reyband, a monthly writer, from the 23d Oct. 1782 to the end of March 1783, at 400 per month		2,116 2 —	
Mr. Morgan, do. to 10 Jan. 1783, at 200 rupees per month - -		526 10 8	
Mr. Michael, part of Oct. 1782 to the end of November do. - -		168 10 8	
Mr. D'Acquin, from the 23d Oct. 1782 to the 9th November 1783 -		1,850 10 8	
Mr. Sicklona, from Dec. 1782 to October 1783, inclusive - -		2,132 — —	
Mr. Strong, 13 mos. at 200 rupees per month		2,600 — —	
Mr. Jones, from 15th August 1783 to 31st Oct. 1783, at 400 rupees per month - -		1,000 — —	
Do. and writers, from November 1783	572		
Do. Dec. ——	660		
Do. Jan. 1784	900		
		2,132 — —	
Expence of monthly writers, for 16 months		12,526 2 —	
Moonshy's office, from 1782 to January 1783, inclusive - -		10,688 2 6	
Treasury charges, do.		7,330 — —	
Dawk charges under Ismael Beg, - -		36,273 — 6	
Holas Roy, news writer at Fyzabad, and agent with the Begums		1,280 — —	

Sundry

Sundry disbursements made by Mr. Bristow -	50,446 6 6		
The Resident was exclusively allowed above 12,000 rups. a month for his official disbursements, which sum was regularly received by Mr. Middleton: not being certain of the exact amount, I shall state it as above, at 12,000 rups. a month, for 16 months is 1,92,000		1,18,543 11 6	
Deduct, already charged in part as above 1,18,543 11 6	73,456 4 6		
		1,92,000 — —	
Gentlemen whose Allowances were paid, exclusive of the Assistants.			
Mr. Bruce, surgeon to the Vizier, and to the regiment stationed at Lucknow, 3,136 rupees per month, for 16 months	50,176 — —		
Mr. Orr, employed in the Accomptant's-office, at 2,000 rupees do. -	32,000 — —		
Mr. S. Taylor's salary, 1,000 rupees a month, for 16 months — 16,000			
Do. Dawk bearers 16,000			
	32,000 — —		
		1,14,176 — —	
Total Rupees —		6,51,601 11 3	
Dawk to the detachment under the command of Lieut. Colonel Knudson		385 — —	
Rupees		6,51,986 11 3	

The Vizier in his remarks observes, that on account the above disbursements, amounting to 6,51,986. 11. 3. the Resident was granted, for every particular therein specified, an allowance of twenty-five thousand rupees a month, all together making 4,00,000 rupees.—I assert, that disbursements similar to mine were authorized in the time of my predecessor, and that no propo tion was ever

made to me, either by the Vizier or his minister, that I should accept the sum of 25,000 rupees per month, in full for all such my disbursements; if it had been made to me I could not have agreed to it, nor can it common sense be believed, that either my predecessor or I should have accepted a sum so inadequate to the purpose.

Lieutenant Colonel Knudson commanded a detachment of two regiments of Sepoys stationed for about three months at Iohomgurabad, in order to repress the incursions of the Sikes.

The sum of 385 rupees was an expenditure for a Dawk laid between that station and Futty Ghur, and was certainly a very moderate charge for an object so evidently necessary as that of preserving a con munication between the two armies.

The sum of 3,136 rupees has for years past been an established allowance to the surgeons at Lucknow.—The late Mr. Walters, Dr. Balfour, and Mr. Murchison received it, for this reason I gave it to Mr. Bruce; Mr. Taylor discharged the duties of postmaster and superintendent of the Dawk bearers, and had your permission to reside at Lucknow; neither Mr. Taylor nor Mr. Bruce had, as I understood, any allowances from the Company, and consequently were entitled to them from the Nabob.

The particulars of part only of my official disbursements, amounting to rupees 1,92,000, are specified; the remainder relates to the expence of public servants, secret services, agents of all denominations, Durbar charges, &c.

The magnitude of my office necessarily obliged me to incur very heavy expences; and I trust the amount will appear moderate, on a comparison with the contingencies drawn by your civil and military servants employed in the political line of your service. In all events, Mr. Middleton regularly received the sum of twelve thousand rupees a month on this account. It was an authorized and established charge.

I submit to your judgment if the allowances granted to Mr. Cowper, or to the assistants in general, was exorbitant, compared with those enjoyed by gentlemen of the same rank in your own provinces, or with other establishments in Owd *.

During

* *The annual income of Mr. Cowper, appointed in succession to the residency, including what he was allowed by the Company, amounted to rupees* - - 83,888 — —

The annual income of Mr. Trevor Wheler, fourth in rank upon the list of Assistants at

Lucknow,

During the whole of my reſidency I was greatly embarraſſed in ſettling the expences of the eſtabliſhment. The miniſter repeatedly evaded giving me a clear explanation of them, which compelled me to make enquiry, and aſcertain from individuals the allowances they had been accuſtomed to receive in the time of my predeceſſor. Having done ſo, I formed my judgment of each gentleman's pretenſions by that ſtandard; I explained the particulars to Hyder Beg Cawn, who aſſented to the ſum I propoſed, both for the aſſiſtants and others, and himſelf recommended part of the payments which I made.—That Hyder Beg Cawn ſhould omit to ſtate this fact in the Vizier's Remarks is conſiſtent with his general management, in reſpect to me, of creating the cauſe, that he may at a future period ſeize the opportunity of fabricating a complaint.

His objection to the diſburſements of the reſidency is unprecedented; his doing it now is no proof of his zeal for the public, but a deliberate act of malice, as my diſburſements were conſiderably leſs than at any preceding period; and he muſt be conſcious, that in making this aſſertion I only ſpeak the truth.

3d. There are errors in the additions, and in ſome of the ſums, which I have corrected in the accompanying account, No. 1.

4th. It would indeed be exceedingly painful to me to acknowledge my gratitude of the indulgence which is here profeſſed: I made this charge as being authorized and proper, and I ſolicit that it may be paſſed on no other ground than matter of right. For the proof I beg leave to refer to the following correſpondence between Captain M'Leod and me.

To Captain Norman M'Leod.

Sir,

I have the honour to incloſe you a copy of the Nabob Vizier's obſervations on the diſburſements which I made to the corps under your command, during the period I laſt held the ſtation of Reſident at his Highneſs's court.

I am to requeſt the favour that you will furniſh me with an atteſted copy of the order I delivered to you from

Lucknow, excluſive of the advantages he may have derived from a ſhare in Mr. Scott's contract for cloths	63,600	— —
Mr. Thomas, a ſurgeon upon the Lucknow eſtabliſhment	1,12,63[illegible]	— —
Rupees	2,60,120	— —

the Vizier, directing you to provide the cloathing of your battalion; and alſo that you will favour me with a relation of ſuch circumſtances as may fall within your recollection relative to the tranſactions on which the Vizier's obſervations are formed.

Calcutta, the 10th Oct. 1784.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient ſervant,
(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Captain M^c^Leod to Mr. Briſtow, in Reply.

Sir,

I am favoured with your letter of the 10th inſtant, wherein you encloſe me a copy of the Vizier's obſervations on the diſburſements which you made to the corps under my command, during the period you laſt held the ſtation of Reſident at his Highneſs's court. You further deſire me to furniſh you with an atteſted copy of the order you delivered to me from the Vizier, for providing the cloathing of my battalion; and to ſtate ſuch circumſtances as fall within my recollection, relative to the tranſactions on which the Vizier's obſervations are formed.

In reply I beg leave to ſend you the original letter from the Vizier to me, containing an order for making up the very cloathing for my battalion, which is objected to in thoſe obſervations as unathorized by his Excellency. A common attention to facts will evince that all the other particulars excepted to, as grounds of accuſation againſt you, had the fulleſt ſanction which the authority of the Vizier could give them. Upon my arrival at Lucknow, I repreſented to you the diſorderly and undiſciplined ſtate of the corps I was ordered to command. I told you that one of the ſeven companies had been diſbanded during the rebellion of Chyte Sing, and that it was never formed again; I requeſted you to repreſent the expediency of raiſing a company to ſupply its place, to his Highneſs; expreſſing at the ſame time my deſire to have my allowances fixed, and the eſtabliſhment of the corps determined. To this you replied, that nothing could be done till ſuch time as the abſtract was tranſlated into Perſian, for the peruſal of the Nabob, without whoſe approbation, you ſaid, nothing could be ſettled. Several days elapſed before the Miniſter, Hoſſeign Beza Cawn, brought you the Perſian of the abſtract from his Highneſs, declaring his fulleſt approbation of it. Regarding the moderation or extravagance of it, I ſhall be very happy however ſoon it be compared with the moſt moderate eſtabliſhment of the many corps which have been commanded by Britiſh officers in the ſervice of the Vizier. The price charged for the cloathing was agreeable to a fixed rate, and did

not

not depend on me. Comparing it with the account ſent by Mr. Deliſle, I find I got 2,000 rupees by it, a ſum little exceeding the reckonings in the Company's ſervice. If there was any difference between it and other cloathing made up for the Vizier, it was in the ſuperior quality, not in the price of it.

As there was no place for cantoning the men, I found, upon my arrival, that they were diſperſed all over the city of Lucknow, every man reſiding where he pleaſed. I repreſented to you the impoſſibility of collecting the men upon any emergency, and without ſome place to canton in, the ſervice of the battalion could never be depended on; you thereon applied to his Highneſs, for his conſent to build a magazine and cantonments; and having obtained it, the Miniſter Huſſim Reza Cawn rode with you and me from Gillalabad, and marked out the ground for them.

The price charged for the materials and workmen was agreeable to the prices publiſhed in orders, and allowed for all buildings in the Company's ſervice. To ſhew that there has been no increaſe to the pay of the ſeven companies made by you, it is a fact which a compariſon of my abſtract with thoſe which were made out in the time of your predeceſſor will at once prove, the difference conſiſted in the mode of making out the monthly charges for the corps. My abſtracts were made out for the whole corps, under one head, upon one ſheet of paper; it comprehended all charges whatever, my own pay, &c.; the pay, batta, &c. to the officers, Sepoys, artificers; beſides the charges of feeding the gun and carriage bullocks; all amounting to 12,000 Fyzabad rupees a month. During the time of your predeceſſor in office at Lucknow, it was different, the charge was not made under one head, nor drawn in one abſtract; there were ſeveral ſeparate charges monthly. The abſtract for the pay of the officers and Sepoys amounted to 9,000 rupees per month; beſides which there was a charge of paymaſter's allowance, and a third monthly bill for feeding the draft and carriage cattle. Taking any of thoſe ſeparately, and comparing it with my abſtract for the whole, there appears a difference, but I can ſafely ſay, that it was not a difference of expence to the Vizier; and that laying the advantage of a regular deſcriptive out of the queſtion, that the corps has at no time coſt him leſs than during the time of your laſt holding the office of Reſident at Lucknow. All the expences incurred for my command bear my ſignature, and the ſooner they are referred to a candid inveſtigation the better.

Calcutta, 14th Oct. 1784. I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.
(Signed) N. M'LEOD.

John Briſtow, Eſq.

Tranſlation of an Order from the Nabob Vizier to Captain M'Leod; dated the 25th of Jemmady ul Ewal 1197.

"The cloathing of the battalion under your command "being old and worn out, I therefore direct you to pur- "chaſe cloth, and make new cloathing, which you will "deliver to the battalion, and which ſhall hereafter be "paſſed in account agreeable to your bill for the ſame."

I am to obſerve, in corroboration of what Captain M'Leod has advanced concerning the Nabob's Remarks on the encreaſe of pay to the battalion, that the whole was authorized—I furniſhed Hyder Beg Cawn with the abſtract; it lay in his hands for ſome days; he approved, and returned it, ſigned by the prime miniſter, Huſſian Reza Cawn, telling me at the ſame time that it was the form of office for papers of this nature to be paſſed by that miniſter.

5th. I could have no inducement to make a purchaſe of this nature, but at the Vizier's requeſt; it was no emolument to me, I did not myſelf furniſh the cloathing; and the following letter will afford another inſtance of the fallibity of his Highneſs's memory.

From Raja Koſhall Roy to Mr. Briſtow; received 3d October 1784.

I am honoured with your commands, directing me to ſtate the circumſtances that paſſed relative to the Vizier's orders for the purchaſe of articles: one day that his Highneſs was at the breakfaſt table, after having drank tea, he informed you that he required cloathing for five battalions of Sepoys, 30,000 flints, ſome of the beſt ſort of fowling pieces, and ſome curious piſtols; he deſired that you would ſend for and purchaſe them on his account, and whatever might be the coſt he would defray it. Two or three days after I attended at the preſence, and aſked what orders his Highneſs had to give concerning the price he was pleaſed to allow on the articles he had commiſſioned, and what the particulars were to be.

The Nabob replied, that "he had given the order the "day before yeſterday; that he would allow whatever "might be the coſt of the articles (which are hereunder "ſpecified) and it would be agreed to and approved." Thus was his Highneſs twice and thrice pleaſed to expreſs himſelf. The particulars will appear from the following liſt:

Cloathing for 5 battalions, agreeable to the Engliſh eſtabliſhment.

Flints

Flints . —— ——	30,000
Fowling pieces of the firſt ſort.	
Piſtols — — —	5

6th. There are errors in the Nabob's ſtatement of this account, which I have corrected in mine, viz.

Rebuilding the barracks for the regiment ſtationed at Lucknow, by Major Maclary - -	12,900	— —
Major Johnſtone, for erecting a ſhed for the ordnance attached to the regiment at Lucknow, and for the reſidence of the European artillery men - -	2,538	— —
Lieut. Bie preparing ditto in June 1783	589	8 —
Lieut. Shipton — ditto in Oct. ditto	534	10 —
	16,562	2 —

The following tranſlation of the correſpondence which paſſed on the building of the barracks by Major M'Lary will explain the Nabob's objection to this article as ill founded.

From Mr. Briſtow to Hyder Beg Cawn, 2d Ramzoom, 1197.

" I verbally explained to you Major Maclary's repre-
" ſentation concerning repairs to the cantonments of the
" regiments ſtationed at Lucknow, without which they
" muſt fall to the ground, and the ammunition will be
" damaged by the leaking of the buildings. An eſtimate
" of the expence, amounting to twelve thouſand nine
" hundred rupees, which I received from the Major was
" before this ſent to you through Sheik Shuffy Oolah;
" you have approved of it, and therefore I have prepared
" a draft of an order to be addreſſed by his Highneſs to
" Major Maclary, which Sheik Shuffy Oolah will de-
" liver to you, and, if it be proper, you will cauſe it to
" be written by his Highneſs, and ſent to me."

To this letter Hyder Beg Cawn himſelf returned a verval anſwer through the bearer of it, Sheik Shuffy Oolah, at the ſame time he ſent an order from the Vizier, of which the following is a tranſlation.

From the Nabob Vizier to Major M'Lary, 3d Rumzan 1197.

" An eſtimate of the expence of building the canton-
" ments of the regiment ſtationed at Lucknow, amount-
" ing to 12,900 rupees has been preſented to me; you
" will pleaſe to advance the money, and build the can-
" tonments. This order ſhall be your warrant for the
" payment

" payment of the amount by my government at a future " period."

At the time Major Johnſtone built the artillery ſhed, Hyder Beg Cawn gave his verbal aſſent to the charge. I am not certain whether I apprized him of the expence incurred in repairs; but I ſubmit it to your honourable Board, whether ſuch a building was not neceſſary, and repairs unavoidable.

7th. Mr. Thomas does not acknowledge the receipt of this ſum, becauſe he wiſhes to transfer it in part payment of a demand he has made upon me for rupees 9,660, on account of medical attendance, medicines, &c. during my reſidence at Lucknow: I refuſed his demand, and he has threatened me with an action at law. I ſhall hereafter take the liberty of applying to your honourable Board for redreſs againſt Mr. Thomas.

8th. One day in November 1782, the Nabob Vizier honoured me with his Company to breakfaſt at Lieutenant Colonel Martin's: Mr. Mooty, a follower of the camp at Futty Ghur, came and offered ſome coral to his Highneſs for ſale, which he bought, and referred to me for payment; Mr. Mooty received the money through Lieutnant Colonel Martin, who was preſent when the Vizier gave me his orders.

9th. I have already anſwered this Remark. Vide 2d Reply.

10th. I have already anſwered this charge, in my addreſs of the 2d October.

11th. There muſt be an error in the ſum claimed by the Vizier, as Captain Dennis only received 8,000 rupees; I was obliged to let that officer retain this ſum in his hands, on account of certain contingent expences which he incurred during his command in the province of Allahabad, and which are now before the committee of accounts.

12th. An inſpection of the account, No. 1, will explain that I have accounted for all the monies which I have received.

13th. The ſum of rupees 14,367,14. 11, will appear due to me agreeable to the accompanying account, No. 1.

Calcutta,
26th November 1784. (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Extract of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor General and Council to Mr. John Briſtow; dated the 6th of June 1775.

We have received your letter, incloſing copies of the treaty propoſed to be entered into by the Company with the Nabob Aſulph ul Dowlah, and of the ſeparate engagements

gagements executed by him. We entirely approve of every article in the treaty, and the negociation of it. We have ordered two fair copies to be immediately engroſſed in form, which we ſhall tranſmit to you as ſoon as poſſible, with our ſignature, and the ſeal of the Company affixed to each, that you may obtain the ſeal and ſignature of the Nabob in like manner, and return one of them to us. In the mean time however you will directly make known to the Nabob our acceptance of this treaty.

In ratifying a treaty ſo highly honourable and advantageous to the Company, as that which you have had the honour of concluding with the Nabob, we cannot, in juſtice to your diſtinguiſhed zeal and aſſiduity in the courſe of this important negociation, omit expreſſing to you the higheſt approbation of your conduct, and returning you our thanks for the ſervice you have rendered to the Company. The terms you have obtained are ſo complete and ſatisfactory that they equal our warmeſt expectations, and you may be aſſured we ſhall not fail to repreſent the whole of your conduct, ſince your appointment, to the honourable Court of Directors in that favourable light in which it appears to us, and in which we do not doubt it will be received by the Company.

As a further mark of our approbation, we have agreed to order a bond to be made out in your favour for one lack of rupees, bearing intereſt at 5 per cent. from the 21ſt of May, being the date of the ſignature of the treaty, ſubject however to the final approval of the honourable the Court of Directors, to whom we ſhall recommend it as a juſt reward of your ſervices.

Vide the proceedings of the honourable the Governor-general and Council upon the recall of Mr. John Briſtow from the Court of Oude, on the 2d of December 1776.

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor General to Edward Wheler and John Macpherſon, Eſquires; dated upon the Ganges, near Sookſagore, the 22d of September 1782.

A few days before my preſent indiſpoſition commenced, I informed you that I was ſorry to find, that the Reſident at the Vizier's court had evidently failed in his duty to this government, in not having carried into execution the conditions and ſpirit of the late treaty with the Vizier. I had further the mortification to be obliged to inform you, that neither the Reſident, nor the deputy in his abſence, had communicated to me the confuſions which had ariſen in the Vizier's dominions from a neglect or violation of the treaty. The letters which I wrote in

conſequence

conſequence of ſuch miſmanagements to the Reſident, and to the acting miniſter of the Vizier, were laid before you, and approved.

Upon the ſame occaſion I obſerved to you, that the obſtacle which oppoſed itſelf to the nomination of Mr. Briſtow to the reſidentſhip at Oude no longer exiſted. It was removed by my having vindicated what muſt ever be eſteemed one of the neceſſary privileges of this government. I had the pleaſure of finding, upon the moſt impartial enquiry, that the conduct of Mr. Briſtow, during his former reſidence at the court of the Vizier, had been proper and attentive. I accordingly wiſhed to recommend him to ſucceed the preſent Reſident, provided the Vizier had no reaſonable objections to his appointment.

I have now great ſatisfaction in informing you, that my letter to the acting miniſter to the Vizier has had the happieſt effect in realizing the heavy balances due to the Company from Oude; and it is ſaid, that the preſent Reſident and his deputy are brought to a proper ſenſe of their duty to the Company.

But as, in every act of my adminiſtration of the affairs of the Company, I never had an object in view but their permanent intereſt, as far as my judgment could direct me, and as prejudice in favour of thoſe in whom I have confided, or againſt thoſe who oppoſed me, vaniſh in my mind when the good of the ſervice requires it, I now wiſh you to recall Mr. Middleton from the court of the Vizier, and to appoint Mr. Briſtow in his room.

My weak ſtate of health obliges me to dictate this letter from my bed; yet I cannot but add, that your inſtructions to Mr. Briſtow ſhould be ſtrong and poſitive upon three points; firſt, That he ſhould always ſhew every poſſible reſpect to the Vizier and his family; ſecondly, that he ſhould take the moſt effectual ſteps for ſecuring all that may remain unpaid of the Company's balances; thirdly, that the ſecurity and internal peace of the Vizier's dominion, and the happineſs of the people, ſhould be continually in his view; and that he ſhould communicate fully and freely with this government upon thoſe ſubjects.

The ſtate of my health requires my proceeding further up the river; and I ſhall communicate to Mr. Briſtow, with your approbation, any more particular inſtructions that may occur to me, and that I may be able to ſend him.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor-general and Council to Mr. John Briſtow, dated the 31ſt December 1783.

Though the Board have fully approved of your conduct ſince your appointment to the office of Reſident at the Vizier's court, and though they have reſolved in conſequence to reſerve to you your claim and right to the office of Reſident at Oude, from the orders of the honourable Company, ſhould the office be deemed hereafter neceſſary, we have come to the determination of accepting the offers which the Nabob Vizier has made of paying his debt and current kiſts to the Company, on condition that the reſidency ſhould be withdrawn from his court.

To fulfil this condition on our part, you will on receipt of this letter inform the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter, that you and Mr. Cowper, and the other gentlemen connected with the reſidency, are ready to withdraw from Lucknow, having received orders of recall; but as the reſervation made in favour of your claims to the office of Reſident at Lucknow might hereafter, if announced at the Vizier's court, be an argument with his miniſters for ſome future objections, you will be pleaſed to take no notice of this circumſtance, which we communicate only for your own ſatisfaction.

We make no doubt the Nabob Vizier and his miniſters will afford you every aid to ſettle the concerns of your reſidency, and enable you to take your departure from Lucknow in the moſt amicable manner. The Governor-general will write to them upon this ſubject; and, we truſt, that on your part you will endeavour to connect, as much as poſſible, the removal of your preſent ſtation with good order to the Vizier's affairs. You will deliver over the accounts and neceſſary papers to Mr. Wombwell, who returns to his ſtation, and you and your aſſiſtants withdraw to Calcutta. You will ſignify our orders to them accordingly.

True Extracts.
(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Observations on Mr. Bristow's Defence.

Governor General. the 7th December 1784.

IT is with concern I am forced to take up the ſubject of the charges againſt Mr. Briſtow at the moment of the diſpatch of the Surprize, and at a juncture when ſo many important

important affairs, affecting the immediate intereſts of this government, preſs on my attention, and ſcarce leave me time to read the letters and papers which he has ſent us in defence and juſtification of his conduct, much leſs to enter into a diſcuſſion of the ſeveral arguments he has uſed, in ſo minute and preciſe a manner as the juſtice which I think due from us to the Nabob Vizier would require. I muſt confine myſelf to a ſummary examination of the principles on which Mr. Briſtow juſtifies his withholding the ſums which the Nabob Vizier has claimed from him; theſe are as follow, viz.

1ſt. The Practice of his Predeceſſors.
2dly. The Orders of the Board.
3dly. The Moderation of the Expences and Allowances he has charged.
4thly. The Sanction of the Nabob Vizier, expreſſed in Writing.
5thly. The verbal Sanction of the Nabob Vizier.

Theſe principles do not all apply to every one of the charges, they are uſed differently in juſtification of different articles; I ſhall therefore examine them ſeparately, and touch on the principal articles juſtified under each.

1ſt. The Practice of his Predeceſſors.

It is on this ground that Mr. Briſtow chiefly juſtifies the heavy expences with which he has charged the Vizier, as well as the method which he has uſed in calculating the Batta on the ſums received in payment of the ſubſidy. We have no proof before us of the conduct which is here imputed to Mr. Briſtow's predeceſſors, and he does not pretend to ſay that it had the ſanction of his employers in any inſtance, except in that of the Batta, which I ſhall have occaſion to diſcuſs hereafter. Without paſſing any opinion therefore in this place on the general conduct of the former Reſidents at the court of the Vizier, I ſhall only obſerve that Mr. Briſtow's immediate predeceſſor was removed from his office for ſuppoſed inſtances of miſconduct, which, however blameable, was certainly ſo in a leſs degree than thoſe which Mr. Briſtow has now attempted to juſtify; with ſuch an example before him, Mr. Briſtow ſhould have been cautious not to carry the imitation of his predeceſſor ſo far as even to exceed thoſe parts of his conduct for which he fell a ſacrifice, and which opened the way to Mr. Briſtow's own appointment. Admitting the practice imputed in this defence to former Reſidents to be juſtly ſtated, it will reſt with the Board to determine how far ſuch precedents, if unauthorized by this government, were a ſufficient ſanction for adopting a ſimilar practice.

2dly.

2dly. The Orders of the Board.

Mr. Briſtow has endeavoured to juſtify on this ground, as well as on the example of his predeceſſors, the whole of the loſs ſuſtained by the Nabob Vizier during his reſidency, under the article of Batta; for a more particular explanation of this ſubject I muſt beg leave to refer the Board to my addreſs of the 14th June.

I muſt here obſerve, that whatever may have been the object of this government in iſſuing the orders of the 8th of January and 13th of June 1776, to which Mr. Briſtow has alluded, it never could have been intended that they ſhould furniſh a ſource of private advantage to the Reſident, nor can they, by any poſſible conſtruction, be admitted as a ſanction for the practice which is aſſerted on the one hand and not denied on the other, of charging to the account of the Vizier, where the ſubſidy was actually paid in Lucknow rupees, the difference of Batta which would have been gained if the payment had been made in the ſpecies of Barelly or Korah, taken at the rate of the aſſay table, and afterwards exchanged at the fluctuating Batta of the Bazar for the Lucknow rupees, or thoſe which were uſed in the diſburſements.

I know of no ſatisfactory exculpation which Mr. Briſtow could have uſed, unleſs he could have aſſerted that the ſame ſpecies which are inſerted in his accounts, whether Barelly, Korah, or Lucknow rupees, were actually received in payment of the ſubſidy, and that the ſame identical ſpecies were afterwards iſſued to the troops and others, at the ſame rate of Batta as that which he charged to the Nabob Vizier; a few inſtances might, I believe, have been quoted, in which this was actually done, but ſuch were certainly rare, and this indeed may be plainly inferred from Mr. Briſtow's own words;—I ſhall beg leave to quote the following paragraph from his letter of the 2d of October: "All the payments on account of "the troops ſtationed in Rohilkund were made in Barelly "rupees, at the eſtabliſhed rate of Batta; and had I "adopted, as has ſometimes been found neceſſary, the "ſimple method of tranſporting the revenues from the "ſeveral diſtricts on Hackeries to Lucknow, I muſt have "paid the whole away to the paymaſters and others to "whom I had occaſion to make diſburſements, at the "ſame rate. They would not have been ſatisfied with "an opinion from me, that the exchange in the aſſay "table was much over-rated—that the Batta in the Ba-"zar had ſo fluctuated as to make them nearly equal in "value to the Sicca of the day, and that they ought "therefore to receive them as ſuch; they would, in an-"ſwer to all this, have produced the eſtabliſhed rates,

"and

" and required payment accordingly, and I muſt have " complied, by adopting, on the other hand, the method " of negociating bills; the diſtant diſtricts were not " drained of their ſpecie, and the Batta being ſtill charged " as provided for by the aſſay table, in the ſame manner " as it muſt have been if tranſported on Hackeries, " neither the Vizier nor the Company ſuſtained any loſs." The inference which I draw from this paragraph is, that where the ſubſidy was paid from the revenues of Barelly, &c. the Batta was charged on thoſe ſpecies of rupees, according to the rate admitted in the aſſay table; but as the amount was remitted in bills of exchange on Lucknow, the money which was actually received into the Reſident's treaſury was in Lucknow rupees. The effect of ſuch an operation is clearly pointed out in my addreſs of the 14th June. The ſubject of the Batta, which is the only article that Mr. Briſtow endeavours to juſtify on the grounds of orders from this government, is now, in my opinion, ſufficiently clear to enable the Board to determine, whether the orders alluded to ſhould be admitted as a ſufficient juſtification of Mr. Briſtow, or whether any, or what reparation, is due to the Nabob Vizier. But if the Board ſhould think that further elucidation is ſtill wanted, we muſt neceſſarily make a new reference to Lucknow, from whence I doubt not but the moſt ample proofs may be procured of the nature of each receipt and payment. For my own part, I ſhould regret ſuch a reference, as every procraſtination tends to defeat the purpoſe of this inquiry. If the Nabob Vizier is entitled to redreſs, it has already been too long deferred, and the juſtice of our government muſt lay under an imputation till it is granted.

3dly. The Moderation of the Expences and Allowances he has charged.

This is one of the grounds on which Mr. Briſtow has juſtified the principal articles charged in his account with the Nabob Vizier: the amount which he inſerted in his firſt account for the expences of the Reſident's office, and allowances to the gentlemen at Lucknow, was 5,78,530 rupees; the amount which the Nabob Vizier was willing to admit, was four lacks, being at the rate of 25,000 rupees per month, for the period of Mr. Briſtow's reſidency. When Mr. Briſtow is called upon to account for the difference, being 1,78,530 rupees, inſtead of ſhewing that ſenſe which I ſhould have expected of his former charges, and confining himſelf to circumſtances neceſſary for their vindication, he ſeems to have repented of them as being too moderate, and gives in a new account to the Board,

Board, in which, chiefly by an augmentation of his own exclusive official disbursements, from 1,18,543. 11. 3 to 1,92,000, he raises the whole charge of the Resident's official disbursements, and of the gentlemen at Lucknow, to 6,51,601. 11. 3.

In the Remarks which he has subjoined to this part of the account he says, he trusts that the amount of his official disbursements will appear moderate, in comparison with the contingencies drawn by the civil and military servants employed in the political line of the service; that Mr. Middleton regularly received the sum of 12,000 rupees per month on this account, and that it was an authorized and established charge; and he submits to the judgment of the Board, if the allowances granted to Mr. Cowper, or to the assistants in general, were exorbitant, compared with those enjoyed by gentlemen of the same rank in our own provinces, or with other establishments in Owde. These are clear propositions for the Board to decide on: for my own part, when the Vizier's minister first informed me, that the amount which his master had authorized, and was willing to admit for the charges of the residency, and the allowances of the gentlemen at Lucknow, was 25,000 rupees per month, I own I was startled at the magnitude of the sum, and was some days hesitating in my mind, whether I could, with propriety, admit of it; but Mr. Bristow declares, that no proposition was ever made to him, either by the Vizier or his minister, of accepting that sum in full of all such disbursements; that if it had been made, he could not have agreed to it; and that it cannot, in common sense, be believed that either his predecessors or himself should have accepted a sum so inadequate to the purpose.

4thly. The Sanction of the Vizier, as expressed in Writing.

To such disbursements as Mr. Bristow can justify under this sanction, I shall make no objection: they have indeed been already admitted by the Vizier himself, except only the sum of 12,900 rupees, stated to have been paid to Major M'Clary. That the official disbursements, and the allowances of the gentlemen at Lucknow, amounting, by Mr. Bristow's last account, to 6,51,601. 11. 3 rupees, do not come under the description of sums for which he has received the written sanction of the Nabob Vizier, is clearly shewn in the following extract from the remarks which Mr. Bristow has annexed to that part of his account; viz. "during the whole of my residency "I was greatly embarrassed in settling the expences of "the establishment. The minister repeatedly evaded

" giving me a clear explanation of them, which compel-
" led me to make enquiry, and aſcertain from indivi-
" duals, the allowances they had been accuſtomed to
" receive in the time of my predeceſſor. Having done
" ſo, I formed my judgment of each gentleman's preten-
" ſions by that ſtandard. I explained the particulars to
" Hyder Beg Cawn, who aſſented to the ſum I propoſed,
" both for the aſſiſtants and others, and he himſelf re-
" commended part of the payments which I made."——
All theſe charges, therefore, come under the next head.

5thly. The verbal Sanction of the Nabob Vizier.

Mr. Briſtow obſerves on this ſubject, in a letter which has accompanied his remarks, " that in the amicable and
" familiar intercourſe which he had the honour to pre-
" ſerve with the Vizier, he was accuſtomed to apply to
" him for various European commodities, and often to a
" conſiderable amount; and that with ſuch applications
" he never heſitated to comply, without requiring an
" authority in writing for each expenditure, the demand
" for which would have been degrading to the Vizier,
" and diſgraceful to the repreſentative of this govern-
" ment." Were I convinced that ſuch an amicable intercourſe had always exiſted, and that Mr. Briſtow had uniformly ſhewn, on other occaſions, an equal degree of delicacy towards the Nabob Vizier, I might have been induced to have allowed this argument great weight, and have contented myſelf, on the Vizier's diſavowing his ſanction, with merely aſcertaining the reality of the expenditures, and the reaſonableneſs of the ſum charged; but our records of laſt year are filled with remonſtrances written even previous to theſe expenditures, which impreſs us with ideas very different from thoſe of delicacy and amicable intercourſe; and moſt aſſuredly, if Hyder Beg Cawn was " the agent through whom Mr. Briſtow's
" diſburſements for the charges of the reſidency were firſt
" eſtabliſhed," as Mr. Briſtow has declared, the diſtruſt, and even rooted enmity which Mr. Briſtow had entertained againſt him, ought naturally to have led him to require ſome written authority for the diſburſement of ſums from his treaſury to ſo conſiderable an amount on account of the Nabob Vizier; or, if delicacy muſt again be ſuffered to intervene, he ſhould certainly have obtained a ſubſequent ſanction for them, by obſerving the ordinary form of delivering in his accounts monthly, which would probably have drawn from the Vizier or his miniſters either an approbation of the expenditures, or early objections.

I have

I have thus ſummarily conſidered the ſeveral grounds on which Mr. Briſtow has juſtified the charges ſtated in his accounts with the Nabob Vizier; it will now reſt with the Board to decide upon them, and to determine what redreſs is due to his Excellency. This is incumbent on us in the firſt place; it muſt then become a ſubſequent queſtion, how far Mr. Briſtow was juſtifiable in appropriating to theſe expenditures without the ſanction of this government, money which he appears to have received on account of the ſubſidy due from the Vizier to the Company.

I have paſſed over the reflections conveyed by Mr. Briſtow on Hyder Beg Cawn, and the uſe which he has made of a quotation from my inſtructions. I have had too frequent occaſion to complain of the unbecoming references which Mr. Briſtow has made to my inſtructions, in partial quotations of them, as the warrant for his conduct, the invariable tenor of which was a groſs oppoſition to them: but I do not wiſh to encumber the preſent ſubject, or to waſte my own time with diſcuſſions not immediately in point.

In the courſe of this minute I have pointed out ſome propoſitions, on which, if the Board ſhall think fit to decide, the claims of the Vizier or Mr. Briſtow may be adjuſted. I do not, however, preſs a deciſion. The affairs of Owde, whilſt they were under that gentleman's management, have already ſwelled our records beyond their proper proportion, and given riſe to much diſagreeable argument; and it may perhaps be difficult for us now to purſue the ſubject with that cool indifference which juſtice requires, or without again entering into long and controverſial debates, which would neceſſarily employ that time and attention which may be ſo much more advantageouſly beſtowed on the immediate concerns of this government. If, in expreſſing ſuch ſentiments, I ſhould happen to meet thoſe of the other members of the Board, however anxious I may be to render ſpeedy juſtice to the Nabob Vizier, I will agree to ſuſpend our proceedings in this country, and refer the whole to the Company at home, who will now have ſufficient materials to enable them to form a deciſion.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Mr. Stables.—I requeſt that an exact ſtatement of all the allowances paid by the Nabob Vizier, ſince the treaty of Chunar, with vouchers for the ſame, may be accurately prepared, and laid before the Board.

Let it. (Signed) J. STABLES.

Signed { W. H. / J. M'P.

Mr. Macpherſon.

I have juſt had time to read over curſorily the Governor-general's minute of yeſterday on Mr. Briſtow's laſt anſwer to the charges preferred againſt him by the Vizier and his miniſter.

Juſtice to the Vizier, and juſtice to the Company, are equally required in the conſideration of theſe accuſations, and of the defence pleaded againſt them.

To paſs judgment on each particular charge, after conſidering fully the anſwer made to it, is in the nature of a judicial duty, and as ſuch, the opinion given being recorded, will ſtand as a teſt of the impartiality and clear diſcrimination of the judge. I do imagine that even a difference of opinion in ſuch caſes can produce any unpleaſant diſcuſſion; and I am ready, for my part, to give my opinion on each ſpecific charge, and to call on the accuſed for any further juſtification he may have to offer, where that given is objected to, or appears unſatisfactory.

The ſubject of the Batta, and the Vizier's claims for the profits upon it, or for unjuſt advantages taken under that head by the Reſident, is a ſubject which I confeſs myſelf not to underſtand clearly, either in the nature of the claims advanced, or the preciſion of Mr. Briſtow's reaſoning upon that head. In general, I know that all collectors of revenue, or their native agents, and all diſburſers of large ſums of money, or their native agents in this country, muſt have a profit upon the exchange or Batta, where coins are of many different kinds, and of local and often of arbitrary value.—A table of aſſay, aſcertaining from our mint the intrinſic value of each coin, and preſcribed by this government as the ſtandard by which all monies are to be eſtimated, is the only check that law can eſtabliſh to prevent impoſitions in receipt or diſburſement of monies ſo various in value and eſtimation. The groſs ſum of rupees that Mr. Briſtow acknowledges to have received and diſburſed from and in the Vizier's country, is, I think, very near the ſum which the Vizier admits him to have collected. The difference is, if I remember, a few thouſand rupees.—If this collective ſum of money was diſburſed according to the aſſay table or Batta ſtandard of government, it is upon the receipt of it by a different ſtandard that illegal profits could be made. If the Vizier and his miniſters knew our aſſay ſtandard, it occurs to me that they ought to have complained while Mr. Briſtow was at Lucknow, and could be confronted with the Aumils who paid Mr. Briſtow their rents by an Aſſay ſtandard more advantageous to the Vizier's government, or, in other words, by an inferior rate of Batta. Whatever may be in this idea, we know for certain, that the

the laudable efforts of this government to bring all rupees in the provinces into the coin of Sicca rupees at our mint, have not yet ſucceeded ſo as to preclude the profits of a thouſand Shroffs, and the currency of different rupees in every diſtrict. In our inveſtigations in Davy Sing's collections at Rungpore, the *Devinvilla* makes an extraordinary article, and ſhews what a ſource of embarraſſment, profit, and oppreſſion the variable Batta on rupees muſt occaſion, if there is no eſtabliſhed ſtandard.

On other grounds, this charge about the Batta conſtitutes a ſerious queſtion. Should it be found that Mr. Briſtow has truly made an immenſe profit by the Batta, and that ſuch profit was even accumulated under the ſtrict letter of the Aſſay Batta table eſtabliſhed by this government in 1776, I am of opinion that the Company have a claim upon him; they know a proceſs by which he can be made anſwerable, and it is their duty afterward to render the Vizier the juſtice to which they may think his Highneſs entitled.

The Company will readily believe that ſuch exceſſive profits, if they are real, originated at an earlier period than Mr. Briſtow's late charge of the reſidency at Oude; and that other reſidents and other collectors of revenue at Oude are equally reſponſible to refund what they may have unjuſtly acquired by the profits of Batta.

Relative to the other heavy charge of unauthorized diſburſements, Mr. Briſtow's defence has opened an extraordinary and alarming ſcene. Immenſe allowances paid to the Company's ſervants at Lucknow, without the official authority of this government, and, as the Governor-general declares, without his knowledge, except in the inſtances he mentions.

Whether it was the Vizier or his miniſters, or the late or former Reſidents, by their own authority, that inſtituted theſe allowances, the Company have equal ground of alarm.

For my own part I declare, that though I knew generally that the Company's covenanted ſervants reſiding at Lucknow could not live there on their Company's allowances of two or three hundred rupees a month; and though I heard of fortunes made by military and civil ſervants at Oude, yet I never knew before that there were ſpecific allowances of two, three, five, and ſix thouſand rupees per month granted to different Company's ſervants at Lucknow, nor that a lack of rupees a year was granted to the commanding officers of our brigades in Oude, beſides their Company's allowances, in conſideration of their Bazars. As the ſervants are known who received theſe allowances, it would be eaſy to call upon them

ſeparately, to learn by what authority they either claimed or received ſuch extraordinary advantages.

But on ſuch ſubjects, as the Governor-general has juſtly and generally obſerved, the temper neceſſary to conduct our preſent more material concerns, and the attention which ought to be perhaps excluſively devoted to them, might be diſturbed; for the taſk of inveſtigating the advantages of individual ſervants can never be pleaſing, nor favourable to unanimity: beſides, great relative queſtions ariſe from every inveſtigation relative to the affairs of Oude.

It is a principle in law as well as juſtice, that the accuſers, as well as the accuſed, ſhould be in certain reſpects amenable to juſtice, if their accuſations are found unjuſt, vexatious, or originating from unfair motives. The Vizier and Hyder Beg Cawn may eaſily and at any time accuſe the Company's ſervants that are employed in Lucknow and in Oude; but ſhould their accuſations (which is poſſible) be unjuſt, or directed from views to be diſengaged from all agency on the part of the Company, it is the duty of the Company to obtain redreſs for their ſervants, and to be upon their guard againſt views of any ſeparate intereſt. Hyder Beg Cawn was likewiſe accuſed by Mr. Briſtow of malverſation in his office, and of an appropriation of immenſe revenues, and we have yet to ſee whether the Vizier and his miniſter will faithfully fulfil the engagements under which the Reſidency was withdrawn, or whether the arrangements made by the Governor-general for increaſing the Vizier's revenues are to be faithfully maintained by the Vizier's government.

Upon the whole of this important ſubject, I agree with the Governor-general to refer it in its preſent ſtate, with the letters which the Governor-general has addreſſed to us in conſequence of the Vizier's complaints, and with Mr. Briſtow's anſwers to the ſpecific charges preferred againſt him, to the honourable Court of Directors, for their opinion and deciſion; declaring at the ſame time my readineſs to continue any further inveſtigation of the ſubject here, if the other members of the Board are ſo diſpoſed.

The complaints againſt Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon were left to the opinion and deciſion of the Company, with this difference, that in ſome inſtances, where the charges appeared not fully exculpated, a want of exculpation was pronounced, but no puniſhment inflicted. But the charges againſt theſe gentlemen were of a different nature from thoſe againſt Mr. Briſtow;—they were chiefly charges of political delinquency. The charges againſt

againſt Mr. Briſtow go to his property, as well as his character as a political agent.

There are gentlemen in the direction of the Company's affairs at home, of ability to inveſtigate the moſt involved tranſactions; of perſeverance and probity, to proſecute enquiry to the moſt beneficial ends; and of impartiality to decide with the utmoſt juſtice.

To them, and to the Company at large, let us recommend the full inveſtigation of theſe affairs, as involving the character of their ſervice, their juſtice to their allies, and that neceſſary line of future regulation which conſtitutes a boundary to the province of every ſervant, and a neceſſary reſtriction of thoſe alledged extraordinary profits and allowances which diſtract the views of all our junior ſervants, and which, on being promulgated at home, excite thoſe contentions which muſt ever prove dangerous to the exiſtence of the Company, if not to the good order of the conſtitution of our country.

(Signed) JOHN MACPHERSON.

Mr. Stables.

So near the diſpatch of the packet, I have barely had leiſure to peruſe the Governor-general's minute on Mr. Briſtow's laſt letter of exculpation.

I agree with the Governor-general to ſubmit, in their preſent ſtate, to the honourable Court of Directors, the ſeveral points of accuſation and defence, as they appear reſpectively in the charges preferred by the Vizier and his miniſter againſt Mr. Briſtow, and in the anſwers of that gentleman; but I cannot in my conſcience, in juſtice to myſelf and my employers, agree that the inveſtigation we are purſuing here on theſe ſubjects ſhould therefore ſtop.

It is obviouſly only from the lights they ſhall receive from us, that the Court of Directors can be enabled to judge with any preciſion on this intricate ſubject.

Thoſe we are now about to yield them I do not think, with deference to the Governor-general's opinion, will anſwer this end; and I conceive it my duty to trace them to the very foundation, ſince, after all that has been ſaid upon it, I muſt confeſs it appears to me ſtill very much involved.

In coming to a reſolution, as I truſt the Board will, to continue theſe enquiries, and in purſuing them till no poſſible doubt ſhall remain upon the merits, I have no apprehenſion that unanimity and the utmoſt temper will not *mark* all the proceedings of the Board, the final and only objects of thoſe enquiries being to diſcover truth, and to do juſtice.

Having ſaid thus much, I ſhall forbear to enter further into the diſcuſſion, until the accounts and other documents relative to Oude, called for in my minute of the 8th inſtant, ſhall be laid before the Board.

11th Decem. 1784. (Signed) J. STABLES.
Eight o'Clock at Night.

11th December, 8 o'Clock at Night.

Governor General.

It is not poſſible for me, at this late hour, to reply to Mr. Macpherſon's minute, nor can I deſire that the packet ſhould be detained another day for ſo inadequate a purpoſe.

The original letter, written on the ſubject of the Batta, ſhews the iniquity of the tranſaction, and clearly explains it. I do not recollect that Mr. Briſtow denies it. There is no intricacy in the ſubject: the plain fact is, that Mr. Briſtow took the rupees from the Nabob at the Batta fixed by the Aſſay table, and took, as his own profit, the difference between that and the Bazar rate, which, on the Barelly rupees, was, as I recollect, 30 per cent.; and where the ſtandard rupees were paid by the miniſter, Mr. Briſtow gave credit for them only as Barelly rupees, allowing the Bazar Batta upon them, and taking to himſelf again the intermediate profit ariſing from the Aſſay table.

I again refer to my original letter upon this ſubject, of which I deſire the ſecretary to ſubjoin the date, becauſe I cannot recollect the preciſe Batta on theſe laſt rupees in the table. I think it was 43. 9, and the Bazar rate 15.

The Nabob, or his miniſter, could not bring theſe charges againſt Mr. Briſtow while he was at Lucknow.

They had to defend the exiſtence of the Nabob Vizier's government; and even for that they were obliged to have recourſe to ſecret means for tranſmitting their complaints, with which this was nothing, in compariſon of the enormity of the reſt; nor was it eaſy to have aſcertained the charges then, as I underſtand no accounts were adjuſted. It was mentioned to me by the miniſter as early as our firſt meeting at Benares, but the amount could not be ſpecified till ſome months after; and of that the reaſon is, I believe, aſſigned by me in a late letter.

I have not ſought this new debate; I have complained of the indecency of Mr. Briſtow's obtruding his letters on the Board at the cloſe of our diſpatches. I was compelled to anſwer him, but confined my anſwer to him.

I ſee

I ſee freſh occaſion to regret this behaviour of Mr. Briſtow's, ſince it has drawn from Mr. Macpherſon ſentiments as ill agreeing with the temper of his judgment as with the principles of juſtice and policy. Enough of enormity has been eſtabliſhed againſt Mr. Briſtow; yet he has ſuffered no puniſhment. Why muſt puniſhment be denounced againſt the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter for daring to accuſe Mr. Briſtow? Let the rule be once eſtabliſhed, that a highly patronized individual may not be arraigned for any crime, but at the peril of his accuſer, though the perſon aggrieved, if he cannot make good his accuſations: and I will promiſe you, that ſuch a man may commit what acts he pleaſes with impunity, neither will the injured accuſe, nor witneſſes appear againſt him.

Mr. Middleton may have committed ſimilar acts; Mr. Johnſon may have been guilty of greater offences; others of yet greater, but they are not before us, nor can their miſdeeds palliate or warrant Mr. Briſtow.

I am an old ſervant of the Company, and am attached to them at leaſt by the natural effect of long habit, if not by duty and gratitude. God forbid that I ſhould be the means of involving it in contentions at home, which muſt prove dangerous to its exiſtence! I know not whether this obſervation tends: Mr. Briſtow has been charged with ſuch acts as, if ſuffered, would have proved the ruin of a great province, and ſtamped the Britiſh name with infamy. I am ſure it cannot be Mr. Macpherſon's meaning that ſuch acts ſhould paſs without a check, leſt, by being promulgated at home, it ſhould excite contentions dangerous to their exiſtence. But I forbear the argument. The Company are in poſſeſſion of ſufficient evidence againſt Mr. Briſtow; and it reſts with their juſtice to pronounce judgment upon him—I deſire not to be his judge.

(Signed) W. H.

Mr. Macpherſon.

I am ſorry that any general obſervations in my minute of the 9th ſhould have been miſcónceived. The Governor-general will find, by the iſſue of the inveſtigation againſt Mr. Briſtow, that I am anxious that puniſhment ſhould follow where he is guilty, or if he is guilty, as any member of the Board can be. Perhaps I ought to be more ſo; and if I remember well, I pointed out a proceſs by which every unjuſt profit, or indeed every profit on batta, may be aſcertained by the Company.

I was ſpeaking of the enormous unauthorized allowances of the ſervants at Owde, when I obſerved that theſe advantages,

advantages, on being promulgated at home, excite thoſe contentions "which muſt ever prove dangerous to the "Company's exiſtence." The late attack on the Company's charter is ſaid to be an inſtance of ſuch contentions, with the knowledge of thoſe allowances, and the alledged profits or peculations of the Reſident —I wiſhed the Company to adopt regulations to reſtrain both, and put an end them. The inference to be drawn, and which I truly meant, was, that an office in the receipt and payment of ſuch vaſt ſums of money of different kinds of coin ſhould be checked by rules that are adequate to check it, or not permitted.

In every diſcuſſion on this ſubject I truſt I ſhall preſerve the temper of my judgment; indeed I am confident I ſhall, and adhere liberally to the principles of that juſtice which is due on all ſides.

(Signed) J. M'P.

In conſequence of the deſire expreſſed by Mr. Stables, in his minute of the 8th inſtant, and acceded to by the other members of the Board, the Accountant-general, who is the only officer at the preſidency in the regular receipt of the accounts with the Vizier from Lucknow, has been called upon to prepare and lay before the Board an exact ſtatement of all the allowances paid by the Nabob Vizier ſince the treaty of Chunar, with the vouchers for the ſame.

8th December 1784.

Governor-general.

THE Governor-general begs leave to offer the following ſhort remarks on the letter which has been delivered in by Mr. Cowper.

He aſſures the Board, that the allowances of the Reſident's office, drawn either in the time of Mr. Briſtow or his predeceſſor, Mr. Middleton, never were authorized by him, excepting the ſingle inſtance of Mr. Trevor Wheler, which the accuſations of Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper compel him to acknowledge.—He had often heard that there were abuſes, and that very large allowances were drawn at Lucknow, but he declares that he was unacquainted with the extent of them, until after his arrival at that place. He heard of theſe things as he heard of other irregularities, which he can trace to no authority, and which he would correct if he could; and he particularly declares that he knew nothing of any allowance appropriated to Mr. Cowper, or his predeceſſor, Mr. Johnſon, beyond what appears in the public monthly accounts.

counts. The Governor-general thinks it neceſſary to point out to the Board that Mr. Cowper in ſpeaking of "the allotted monthly expence of the Reſident's office, "or 25,000 rupees," from which fund, he ſays, he received his allowance as firſt aſſiſtant, mentions it as a matter of public notoriety, and wonders by what accident, at the final adjuſtment of accounts with Mr. Briſtow's predeceſſor, this charge of 25,000 rupees per month ſhould have eſcaped the notice of the Vizier. The Board are already informed that the Vizier has not refuſed to admit of this charge, on the contrary, his miniſters have aſſerted that it was what was eſtabliſhed, and his Excellency has deſired that the ſum of 25,000 rupees per month may be inſerted in the account as the limited amount of the expences of the Reſident's office and allowances of the gentlemen at Lucknow; and that Mr. Briſtow has objected to it, declaring that it was never offered to him, and that it is contrary to common ſenſe to ſuppoſe that either he or his predeceſſor ſhould have accepted of a ſum ſo inadequate to the purpoſe. Mr. Cowper's letter forms therefore a ſtrong evidence againſt Mr. Briſtow. The Governor-general cannot help obſerving that inſtead of thoſe motives of reſpect towards himſelf which Mr. Cowper profeſſes, both that gentleman and Mr. Briſtow, in delivering in their repreſentations at the very moment of an important diſpatch for Europe, ſeem to have ſtudiouſly choſen the particular time when they might moſt embarraſs the attention of the Board, and preclude a refutation of their aſſertions.

(Signed) W. HASTINGS.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 19*th February* 1785.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor-general, &c. Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William.

Gentlemen,

My character, fortune, and future proſpects in life, depending on the reſult of the accuſations preferred againſt me by the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn, I beg leave to ſolicit the fulleſt information that your records can furniſh me with; in the hope that you will deem me intitled to this juſtice, I requeſt your permiſſion to have acceſs to, and copies of your proceedings, which may in any reſpect relate to the ſubject matter of the ſaid accuſations, as well as of all my tranſactions at the court of Owde.

Before

Before the honourable the Governor-general's return to the preſidency, the members of your Board individually aſſented to my requeſt, but your ſecretary, Mr. Hay, objected, until he ſhould receive a written order from any individual member on the ſanction of your honourable Board collectively, for which I now beg leave to apply.

I have the honour to be,
with the greateſt reſpect,
Gentlemen,
your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Calcutta,
the 21ſt Dec. 1784.

Agreed, That Mr. Briſtow be permitted to have copies of all the papers and proceedings in this department, that relate in any reſpect to his tranſactions at the court of Owde, and to the accuſations preferred againſt him by the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor General, &c. Members of the Supreme Council, at Fort William.

Gentlemen,

A MOTIVE of reſpect towards the honourable Governor-general determined me to wait his return to the preſidency, before I addreſſed you upon a ſubject to which, although I cannot ſtrictly perhaps be deemed officially a party in honour, I ſtill muſt and do feel myſelf moſt immediately and eſſentially intereſted.

In a letter from the honourable Governor-general to the Board, dated 25th of Auguſt laſt, and of which the communication came to me from my late ſuperior at the court of Oude, Mr. John Briſtow, it is ſtated, that of the monies collected by this gentleman during his late reſidency on the account of the Company, he had appropriated near fourteen lacks of rupees to the payment of expences which were not incurred by your government, and which had at no time received its ſanction: and further, that this ſum was diſcharged without the orders, or even the knowledge of the Vizier. In the account particulars of the amount declared to have been ſo appropriated, I find included the allotted monthly expence of the Reſident's office, or 25,000 rupees. It was from this fund that I received my allowance as firſt aſſiſtant to Mr. Briſtow;

Briſtow; but I received it, gentlemen, under a conviction that it was equally known to the members of our government and to the Nabob, and authorized by both.

It is true that, however uninformed in this reſpect, I might yet have accepted ſuch allowance, when tendered to me by Mr. Briſtow without any riſk of perſonal conſequences, the Reſident being ſolely reſponſible for all diſburſements; but I ſhould have ſcorned, when information was open to me, to have recurred to the plea of ignorance, in excuſe of a conduct which, had it been adviſedly adopted, could admit of no juſtification, and which, in the retroſpect, promiſed no better conſolation than might be derived from the cheerleſs conſciouſneſs of undeſerved impunity: on the other hand, the ſalaries allowed to the aſſiſtants in the office of the laſt Reſident at Oude, were already of that public notoriety as made the aid of ſhift or ſubterfuge, either in the payment or acceptance of them, could gentleman have ſtooped to ſuch practice, every way unneceſſary. To eſtabliſh this poſition, I conceive, with much deference, it will be only neceſſary to prove (which may be done by a ſimple reference) that from the period of the Chunar treaty, theſe allowances had been regularly received by the gentlemen officiating as aſſiſtant to your Reſident at the Vizier's court. This being the fact, ſuppoſing the Nabob's account to be open to his inſpection, it is not eaſy to divine by what accident at the final adjuſtment of them with Mr. Briſtow's predeceſſor, the charge of 25,000 rupees per month ſhould have eſcaped the notice of his Highneſs. If, on the contrary, ſuch want of information is to be attributed to Hyder Beg Cawn, aſſuredly it muſt have been by very ſubtle management that the miniſter could have concealed a diſburſement of this nature and extent ſo long, ſo completely, and, as it would ſeem, ſingly, from the knowledge and obſervation of his maſter, and of the honourable the Governor-general. Indeed his ſucceſs in this reſpect muſt appear by ſo much the more wonderful, as it was a circumſtance familiarly known to Mr. Wheler, who, ſpeaking of his nephew Mr. Trevor Wheler as one of the aſſiſtants to the Reſident at the court of Oude, informed me, that as ſuch he received a ſalary of 5,000 rupees per month. This verbal communication occurred at the time of my appointment to be firſt aſſiſtant to Mr. Briſtow, and a very few days previous to my departure for Lucknow. The ſubject was afterwards renewed between us in a correſpondence by letter; which written documents, ſhould the honourable Board deem it neceſſary, I ſhall moſt readily lay before them, nor am I the leaſt apprehenſive that in ſo doing I ſhall incur the cenſure

of

of one candid or honourable man, the ſingle object of this appeal being to vindicate my honour from a moſt ſerious charge, which, although it is directly exhibited againſt Mr. Briſtow alone, I am aware, from the ſituation in which I ſtood relatively to that gentleman at Oude, may very warrantably be conſtrued as applying to me alſo, at leaſt, gentlemen, ſuch conſtruction is poſſible—thus to meet it, therefore, is only duty to my employers, to myſelf juſtice: for the reſt it is, I doubt not, in the recollection of the honourable Board, with what art and induſtry my name has been ſtill implicated with Mr. Briſtow's, in all the crimes and oppreſſions which it has pleaſed Hyder Beg Cawn to attribute to that gentleman.—Such then, Sirs, are the facts upon which was founded my acceptance of the ſalary heretofore received by Mr. Richard Johnſon, whilſt ſtanding in the ſame relation to the former Reſident as I did to the laſt; and I flatter myſelf, that they will appear to the honourable Board, and to my employers, of a ſtrength and complexion to ſatisfy and remove every doubt that I might otherwiſe have entertained of the propriety and authority under which it was tendered to me; ſenſible as I am, at the ſame time, that whoſoever in theſe days hopes, or indeed deſerves to maintain the reputation of diſintereſtedneſs, muſt be ſo clear in his account of pecuniary tranſactions, as to defy from any ſet of men, or from the world, any colourable application of the terms 'myſterious or evaſive' to his conduct. In addition to what I have already ſubmitted to you reſpecting my ſtipend as firſt aſſiſtant at Lucknow, and in proof of its legality and notoriety, I beg leave to ſubjoin a ſolemn declaration:—That, ſave except the 6,000 Sicca rupees per month, ſo ſtated to have been received by me as an allowance from the Nabob, and the further monthly ſalary of 400 Sicca rupees from the honourable Company, I neither directly or indirectly, whilſt I acted in the capacity of firſt aſſiſtant to Mr. Briſtow, benefited a ſingle rupee by my ſtation; and this declaration I ſhall at all times be ready to atteſt upon oath in the preſence of the honourable Board, or of a proper magiſtrate.

In thus ſtating the extent of my allowances and emoluments as deputy to the Reſident at the Vizier's court, I ſhun any invidious compariſon of them with thoſe enjoyed by very many gentlemen, greatly my juniors in the ſervice, and in ſituations of infinitely leſs neceſſary expence; and ſhall further only crave permiſſion reſpectfully to obſerve on this head to the honourable Board, that (the interval of my ſtay at Owde excepted, including a period of ſixteen months) I have been ſince my return to Bengal,

more

more than three years ago, entirely without office or employement, and conſequently without the means of ſubſiſtence at all.

I have the honour to be,
with the greateſt reſpect,
Gentlemen,
your moſt obedient,
and moſt humble Servant,
(Signed) WILLIAM COWPER.

Calcutta,
7th Dec. 1784.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 5th April 1785.

READ the following letter, and its encloſures, from Mr. Briſtow.

To the Honourable John Macpherſon, Eſq. Governor-general, and Members of the Supreme Council, at Fort William.

Gentlemen,

Your honourable Board having been pleaſed to comply with my requeſt for free acceſs to ſuch parts of your records as related to, or were connected with my tranſactions while Reſident at the court of Oude, a privilege which, as an accuſed perſon, I conceived to be my right, I now beg leave to ſubmit to your conſideration ſuch further facts and arguments as I deem neceſſary for my vindication.

Leſt however it ſhould be ſuppoſed that I had deſignedly delayed my repreſentations, with the view of taking an unfair advantage of the abſence of the late Governor-general, you, Gentlemen, will I truſt do me the juſtice to recollect, that my application for acceſs to your records was preferred during Mr. Haſtings's adminiſtration. The permiſſion required was not granted until after his departure.—I could not prepare my reply with greater diſpatch; and I rely on your candour, to pardon the freedom with which I ſhall addreſs you on a ſubject in which my character, fortune, and future proſpects in life, are ſo immediately connected.

It is my intention ſtudiouſly to avoid any reflections on the opprobrious epithets applied to me by Mr. Haſtings, as well from motives of reſpect to your honourable Board, as from a conviction that invective, evidently flowing from reſentment, and general aſſertions, unſupported by proofs, need no ſerious refutation.—Neceſſity, however, compels me to requeſt your permiſſion to contraſt the crimes laid to my charge by the ſole voice of the late Governor-general, with the uniform approbation my former

mer conduct received in the years 1775 and 1776, when it was acknowledged, even by oppoſite parties, that I had ſerved the Company with fidelity and ſucceſs. Until the period when I was ſent to the court of Oude, as the ſelected friend of Mr. Haſtings, my public character had ever met the applauſe of my ſuperiors; ſince then, indeed, my faculties and time have been wholly employed in defending myſelf againſt the malicious accuſations of my enemies.

My political conduct having been honoured with your full approbation, the two ſpecific charges lately exhibited againſt me, upon the exchange of rupees, and the exorbitant expences of my office, are the ſubjects which require further explanation.—And here I muſt obſerve, that the late Governor-general, veſted with the powers of your government, and Hyder Beg Cawn with deſpotic ſway over the Vizier's dominions, have not produced a ſingle evidence in ſupport of their accuſations.

Had I been guilty of the crimes alledged againſt me, the proofs might ſurely have been obtained when inclination and power were active in the ſearch.—For the miniſter, countenanced and protected by the firſt member of your adminiſtration, could with impunity have promiſed rewards to any native who ſhould have ſtood forth as my accuſer, while on the other hand it is probable that he threatened to inflict puniſhment on thoſe ſhould conceal the knowledge of tranſactions which might any way tend to criminate my conduct. I conceive I do not deviate from propriety, in forming ſuppoſitions, a mode of reaſoning for which the late Governor has eſtabliſhed the precedent.

" Whilſt the Vizier and his miniſters poſſeſſed their " proper authority, an adherence to the rates of the table " of aſſay was of little prejudice to them, becauſe they " had it in their option to make their payments in what- " ever ſpecies they pleaſed; but after the Engliſh Reſident " aſſumed and obtained a controul over the finances, the " loſs was heavily felt; it *might* be ſuppoſed, that the " Reſident would make uſe of his influence to cauſe a " great proportion of the payments to be made in thoſe " ſpecies which were on the aſſay table moſt depreciated " in compariſon of their current, or intrinſic value, ſince " he could immediately exchange them to the merchants " at a very conſiderable advantage to himſelf." The reaſoning above ſtated I have already refuted in my addreſs of the 2d of October 1784: but in corroboration of what I then advanced, I now beg leave to obſerve, that no European at Lucknow could have effected a ſingle point of importance, Major Palmer alone excepted, and that

that gentleman, as private agent to Mr. Haſtings, was intimately connected with, and the confidential adviſer of the miniſter. Thus ſituated, with poſitive knowledge that Hyder Beg Cawn was my inveterate enemy and malicious accuſer, is it to be ſuppoſed that I could be ſo deficient in common ſenſe and prudence as to furniſh him with the certain means of effecting my ruin?

The ſuppoſition therefore of the late Governor-general, that I influenced the exchange, as well as his poſitive aſſertion, that I aſſumed and obtained a controul over the finances of the Vizier, I moſt ſolemnly declare to be totally void of foundation.

I am ſupported by a moſt reſpectable authority when I aſſert, that your government alone is competent to eſtabliſh equitable rules of exchange. The authority to which I allude is ſo much in point, that I hope the honourable the Governor-general will pardon me for quoting it in this place.—" A table aſſay aſcertaining from our " mint the intrinſic value of each coin, and preſcribed " by this government as the ſtandard by which all monies " are to be eſtimated, is the only check that law can eſta- " bliſh to prevent impoſition in receipts or diſburſements " of monies ſo various in value and eſtimation."—Such a table aſſay was preſcribed by your government in the year 1776, as the ſtandard by which all monies ſhould be received and diſburſed; and from this ſtandard I never in the leaſt deviated, nor indeed could I have done it with propriety, or the hope of ſafety.

Exchange of money has always been productive of advantage to individuals under every government. Mr. Macpherſon, in his minute already referred to, has uſed the following words, which as they apply to the preceding obſervation to the practice of this ſervice, he will, I hope, excuſe my inſerting.—" In general I know that all col- " lectors of revenue, or their native agents, and all diſ- " burſers of large ſums, or their native agents in this " country, muſt have a profit upon the exchange or " batta, when claims are of many different kinds, and " of local, and often of arbitrary value."—Having then the ſanction of government, the known general uſage of the ſervice, as well as the example of my predeceſſors, to juſtify this part of my conduct, I will not pretend to deny that emoluments were made at Lucknow by the Shroffage, or exchange of rupees. The ſame regard to truth which leads me to make this confeſſion, now impels me alſo to declare, that the amount was far ſhort of the enormous ſum ſtated in the fallacious account of Hyder Beg Cawn. I hold it to be a ſelf-evident propoſition that Mr. Haſtings, who excluſively preſided for a ſeries of

years over the honourable Company's affairs at the court of Oude, muſt have known ſome emoluments were attached to the office of Reſident. Could it be ſuppoſed that your repreſentative at that court was to ſupport himſelf with becoming dignity on one thouſand rupees per month, a ſum infinitely leſs indeed than the allowances granted to every gentleman employed in the political branch of your ſervice? Permit me to make a compariſon between my allowances as Reſident, and thoſe of many of the Company's civil ſervants, my juniors in rank, who at that time held appointments of much leſs reſponſibility, and unclogged with thoſe extraordinary expences, which in my ſituation were unavoidable. I believe, Gentlemen, it will appear, that my ſalary was comparatively trifling, and every way inadequate to the appointment, I had the honour to hold. An appointwhich Mr. Haſtings has termed "the moſt important in "the ſervice, both with relation to its political magni-"tude, and the great pecuniary intereſt attached to it."

I appeal then to the candour of your honourable Board, whether, on combining theſe circumſtances, I am not juſtified in aſſerting, that the late Governor-general muſt have been fully aware of ſome emoluments being made by the Reſident at Owde; and whether any could have been more fair or honourable than thoſe derived from an exchange, the rates of which had received the ſanction of your government, and were eſtabliſhed by long precedent. If, however, it can be proved, that at any period I endeavoured to influence the Shroffs, or others, to raiſe or depreciate the value of the different rupees, for my own advantage, or even if I interfered, directly or indirectly, further than to receive and diſburſe the public money, at the exchange fixed by your honourable Board, I readily admit that I ſhould deſerve the greateſt diſgrace and ſevereſt puniſhment your government or the law could inflict on me; but in juſtice to myſelf, I deny even the intention of ſo flagitious an act; and I muſt repeat, that had ſuch influence been exerted, the late Governor-general, through the channel of Hyder Beg Cawn, might eaſily have obtained certain evidence thereof, and would doubtleſs have produced it.—I ſhall now proceed to reply to the ſecond charge exhibited againſt me, on the exorbitant expences of the reſidency: here I entirely agree with the late Governor-general, that if the allowances objected to by the Vizier were eſtabliſhed by my predeceſſor, without the previous conſent or knowledge of his Highneſs, the precedent ought not to be admitted; but I feel a confidence when I aſſert, that both the Nabob and his miniſter had acquieſced in and approved of charges

ſtill

ſtill greater than thoſe for which my conduct has been arraigned. I have already obſerved, that thoſe charges did not originate with, nor were they in every particular approved of by me; it was my intention to have reduced them as ſoon as I had effected the important changes and regulations pointed out in my inſtructions as the grand objects to which my attention ſhould be primarily directed. I take the liberty of referring your honourable Board to thoſe inſtructions, it will be found that they inſiſt on a ſpeedy and effectual alteration in almoſt every department of the Nabob's government. To have attained a competent knowledge of matters ſo complicated, to have examined accounts purpoſely involved by the miniſter in intricacy and confuſion, would have been impracticable, without the zealous and active aſſiſtance of the gentlemen attached to my office; their diligence and conſtant application deſerved, in my opinion, ſome ſuperior allowances; in all events their conduct could not have merited, nor ſhould it have been required, by puniſhment, and ſuch they would have deemed a reduction of the ſalaries, which had from the uſage of years been conſidered as permanent, not to be done away but by the expreſs orders of the Vizier. I once indeed attempted to prevail on the miniſter to curtail Mr. Thomas's allowances, which appeared to me enormous, their amount being no leſs a ſum than 8,136 rupees, excluſive of what he drew in the capacity of ſurgeon to the Reſident; but my advice, as that gentleman obſerves, was treated with contempt: I repeat, however, it was my deſign to have leſſened theſe ſalaries, provided the Vizier's conſent could have been obtained, whenever I could have accompliſhed the object of my miſſion. Had I begun the arduous taſk of reformation in my own department, my time would have been entirely engroſſed in tranſmitting and anſwering repreſentations to your honourable Board, on matters comparatively inſignificant with thoſe important charges in the Nabob's government which I was ordered to carry into immediate execution. I had the official aſſurance of my predeceſſor, that the late Governor-general knew that theſe ſalaries were paid by the Vizier, even poſterior to the treaty concluded at Chunar: Mr. Middleton being in Europe, I cannot avail myſelf at preſent of his perſonal evidence, but I hope the honourable the Court of Directors will call upon that gentleman to avow or diſprove what I have here advanced.

Mr. Haſtings, in his minute dated the 7th of December 1784, has expreſſed himſelf as follows:

"For my own part, when the Vizier's miniſter firſt "informed me, that the amount which his maſter had

" authorized, and was willing to admit, for the charges " of the reſidency, and the allowances of the gentlemen " at Lucknow, was 25,000 rupees per months, I own I " was ſtartled at the magnitude of the ſum, and was " ſome days heſitating in my mind, whether I could with " propriety admit of it."

In another minute, dated the 8th December 1784, he aſſures the Board, " that the allowance of the Reſidents, " drawn either in the time of Mr. Briſtow, or his pre- " deceſſor Mr. Middleton, never were authorized by " him, excepting in the ſingle inſtance of Mr. Trevor " Wheler, which the accuſations of Mr. Briſtow and " Mr. Cowper *oblige* and *compel* him to *acknowledge*."

precludes

Now though the abſence of Mr. Middleton proculdes the poſſibility of a poſitive proof that Mr. Haſtings was informed of all the allowances which were paid by the Reſident, ſtill there exiſts a ſtrong preſumptive one, as will appear, that he was neither ignorant of, nor averſe to, the Vizier's granting large ſalaries to more than one European gentleman. In the firſt place, I ſhall inſtance Mr. Thomas, who, excluſive of his pay from the Company, which was 1,200 rupees, claimed from the Vizier, with Mr. Haſtings's knowledge*, 8,136 rupees per month. Secondly, the late Governor-general avows his authorizing Mr. Trevor Wheler's receiving 5,000 rupees per month. In this place I take the liberty to remind your honourable Board of that gentleman's being my fourth aſſiſtant. Was it natural to ſuppoſe, that he alone enjoyed ſuperior allowances? or was it not more conſonant to reaſon, for Mr. Haſtings to conclude, that my other aſſiſtants were permitted to receive ſalaries from the Nabob ſuperior or inferior to Mr. Wheler's, according to their repective ranks in the Company's ſervice? Surely it could not be conceived that I would, by ſo unjuſtifiable a partiality in favour of Mr. Wheler, create jealouſies and diſguſt in the minds of every gentleman belonging to my department. Laſtly, to ſhew that Mr. Haſtings knew and approved of large ſalaries, I beg leave to annex the copy of a letter, which nothing but the neceſſity of ſelf-defence ſhould ever have induced me to make public —it requires no comment.

" Dear Briſtow,

" Sir Eyre Coote has ſome field allowances to receive " from the Vizier, they amount to Sicca rupees 15,554 " per month, and he has been paid up by the Vizier to

* *Vide Conſultation* 25*th November, in which the late Governor-general recorded Mr. Thomas's application to him for theſe identical allowances.*

" the

" the 20th of Auguſt 1782. The Governor has directed " me to write to you, to requeſt you to receive what is " due from the Vizier from the 20th Auguſt laſt, at the " rate of Lucknow Sicca rupees 15,554 per month, and " ſend me a bill for the amount, the receipt of which I " will acknowledge in the capacity of Sir Eyre Coote's " attorney; and the Governor deſires, that you will con- " tinue to receive Sir Eyre Coote's field allowances at " the ſame rate, and remit the money to me as it comes " in."

" Calcutta, January 25th, 1783.

" (Signed) CHARLES CROFTS.

Permit me to requeſt your honourable Boaad will bear in mind, that I could derive no poſſible advantage, but incur perſonal riſque, from profuſely laviſhing, without authority, the public money on gentlemen, moſt of whom were unconnected with me in any other relation than my official capacity: when theſe facts and arguments are allowed their full weight, I hope and believe your honourable Board will admit, I had ſufficient grounds to preſume that the allowances now complained of were not only authorized by the Vizier, who has paſſed them without objection in his accounts for ſucceeding years, but were alſo approved by your late preſident, who has even continued the ſalaries to Meſſrs. Bruce and Taylor to this day, although they form a part of the inadmiſſible charges objected to by the Nabob Vizier in my account.

Mr. Haſtings, in his minute dated the 7th of December 1784, ſpeaking of charges incurred by the Nabob's verbal orders, obſerves, " were I once convinced that ſuch an " amicable intercourſe had always exiſted, and that Mr. " Briſtow had uniformly ſhewn on other occaſions an " equal degree of delicacy towards the Nabob Vizier, I " might have been induced to allow thoſe arguments " great weight, and have contented myſelf on the Vizier's " diſavowing his ſanction, with merely aſcertaining the " reality of the expenditures, and the reaſonableneſs of " the ſums charged. But our records of laſt year are " filled with remonſtrances written even previous to thoſe " expenditures, which impreſs us with ideas very different " from delicacy and amicable intercourſe." I have ever conſidered and treated the complains preferred againſt me by the Vizier as proceeding from his miniſter, who it is notorious holds his ſovereign in entire thraldom, and has often " dared to uſe the Nabob's name and even affixed " his ſeal to letters, either dictated to the Nabob, or " written without his knowledge."—To prove however that an amicable intercourſe did actually exiſt, I ſubmit

to the perusal of your honourable Board translations of a correspondence (No. 2) that passed between the Vizier and me, a short time after those remonstrances alluded to by the late Governor-general were made; when the Vizier wrote these letters he was absent from his minister, and therefore, it may be presumed, he spoke the genuine dictates of his heart. Many of the articles of expence which Hyder Beg Cawn asserts to have been incurred without the consent or knowledge of the Vizier, I have produced written authority for; this wilful misrepresentation I conceive is of itself sufficient to invalidate his evidence, but I can further prove that for years past he has uniformly persecuted me with complaints and crimination, which had no other foundation than malice. One of the last events of my residency in the year 1776 was the recommendation of this identical minister to the station he at present fills. I supported him with your authority, and first recommended him to your notice.—It was impossible that I could entertain any other than the most friendly disposition towards the man in whose elevation I had thus assisted, and it could only be my wish to unite with him in the execution of the public service; far different sentiments, however, possessed the mind of Hyder Beg Cawn; for, unprovoked by any offence on my part, he in the year 1781 instigated complaints against me in the name of the Nabob Vizier; I had at that period the honour to be your Resident at the court of Owde for the management of political affairs, and as my office was divested of influence and authority, there could be no object of contention between us, and it is difficult to reconcile the conduct of Hyder Beg Cawn in preferring these ill-founded and unprovoked complaints with the principles either of honour or gratitude.

In October 1782 your honourable Board thought proper to resolve on arrangements which should correct the multiplied evils that existed in the Vizier's government, and did me the honour of selecting me for this important trust. The whole period of my residency passed in contests with Hyder Beg Cawn; his object was to resist, mine to execute your orders. No situation, no conduct could guard me from his calumny; for the very regulations proposed by me, in strict conformity to your commands, were made the basis of his complaints. In saying thus much on the character and conduct of the minister, I conceive myself perfectly in order, as he is not only my accuser, but also the sole evidence against me; complaints injurious to my character have for a long time composed a voluminous part of your proceedings, and though successively refuted, have been renewed with equal eagerness and inveteracy

veteracy. What reparation, what ſatisfaction am I to receive? I am myſelf amenable to the laws of my country, but my accuſer is exempt from our juriſdiction; and may therefore, if any purpoſe is yet to be anſwered, continue to fabricate his falſehoods without any apprehenſion of puniſhment, and with every local advantage.

Though in the beginning of this letter I declared my reſolution to refrain from remarking on the injurious epithets Mr. Haſtings has ſo liberally beſtowed on my conduct, I may, I think, without departing from this profeſſion, be allowed to obſerve, that thoſe epithets, however properly they might have been uſed by my accuſer, were unbecoming the dignity of the Governor-general, and irreconcileable with the impartiality of a judge. Nor will it, I imagine, be conſidered improper or diſreſpectful to accompany this defence with ſome extracts (No. 3) from the late Governor-general's minutes written at different periods, whereby it will appear that his opinion of my public character frequently varied from bad to good, and good to bad, according to times, circumſtances, and ſituations.

In concluſion, I make it my requeſt, in which I hope to be indulged by your honourable Board, that this addreſs may go a number in the packet to the honourable Court of Directors, with a reference to theſe letters noted in the margin, which form the firſt part of my reply to the accuſations preferred againſt me by the late Governor-general, the Nabob Vizier, and his miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn. [2d and 4th Oct. 26th Nov.]

I have the honour to be, with the higheſt reſpect,
Gentlemen,
your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Calcutta,
22d March 1785.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Briſtow to the Honourable the Governor General and Council, dated the 2d of October 1784.

I never interfered in the detail, and my general inſtructions for the management of the treaſury, enjoined a rigid adherence to the aſſay table and to the forms in uſe by my predeceſſors: when in the month of September laſt * I laid my accounts for the preceding year (1190 Fuſſally) before the Vizier and his miniſters, no ſuch objections as thoſe now ſtated were urged, my accounts were found ſtrictly conformable both in form and matter to former

* *Should be* 1783.

uſage, and were approved accordingly. Could Hyder Beg Cawn have diſcovered any thing chargeable with ſuch matter of accuſation as he has now thought proper to produce againſt them, it is not probable that, in his anxiety at that period to effect the removal of your Reſident, who without power indeed to controul, yet unceaſingly watched his conduct—it is not probable, I ſay, that ſo circumſtanced he would have neglected ſo promiſing a proſpect of accompliſhing his favourite object; he has ſhewn himſelf anxiouſly diſpoſed to criminate my conduct in every inſtance, and it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe he would have admitted an accuſation of this nature, when he has not heſitated to produce as charges againſt me complaints ſtamped with the unequivocal proofs of my zeal for your ſervice, and his determined oppoſition to every meaſure, however forcibly recommended by you, that militated in any ſhape againſt the uncontrouled power and influence he had ſo many years enjoyed over the Vizier's dominions.

A true extract.

JOHN BRISTOW.

Tranſlation of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Briſtow: Received May 1783.

I am rejoiced by the receipt of your letter, encloſing the draft of an anſwer to Mahajy Sindia, and Bow Buxſhy, and an addreſs from Major Browne. The news of your health affords me the higheſt ſatisfaction. By the bleſſing of God my health is good, and my heart is ever intent on receiving accounts of your welfare. I have cauſed letters to be written, agreeable to the drafts you prepared, to Mahajy Sindia and Bow Buxſhy, and you will pleaſe to forward them.

Conſidering my heart anxious for an interview with you, you will write me frequent accounts of your health.

Tranſlation of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Briſtow: Received May 3*d* 1783.

By the bleſſing of God my health is good and proſperous, and my victorious army is encamped in Bairaitch. My mind, impreſſed with the pureſt friendſhip for you, is ever ſearching after the news of your health; and in the midſt of the joy of my hunting, to which my inclinations are ſincerely diſpoſed, I frequently ſtrike my heart with my nails, in recollection of you; for thoſe reaſons it is my ſincere wiſh that you will always write me the news of your welfare and happineſs, encreaſe the gratification

cation of my anxious feelings, and diſſipate the irkſome apprehenſions of my mind, by the moſt pleaſing intelligence of your good and proſperous health.

Mr. Briſtow in Reply, 21ſt Jemmady ul ſany 1197.

I am honoured with your Highneſs's letter, expreſſing your favour towards me, and informing me "that your "health is good and proſperous, the victorious army is "encamped at Bairaitch, that your heart is highly anxi- "ous for the news of my welfare; and that, in the midſt "of your hunting, to which your inclinations are ſin- "cerely diſpoſed, you often ſtrike your heart with your "nails, in recollection of me; for theſe reaſons you re- "queſt me always to write you the news of my welfare "and happineſs, thereby to encreaſe the gratification of "your anxious feelings, and diſſipate the irkſome appre- "henſions of your mind, by the moſt pleaſing intelli- "gence of my good and proſperous health."

Accept of my moſt grateful thanks, for theſe proofs of your Highneſs's favour, and may the Almighty ſpread the ſhade of his bleſſings over your Highneſs for this recollection of me--I have in theſe days received a Shoka from the king, and a letter from the Nabob Nuyjud ud Dowla, directing me to apply to your Highneſs to ſuffer the exportation of grain from your dominions. Similar applications will be probably have been made directly to you through Major Browne. Being your Highneſs's ſincere well-wiſher, I addreſſed the honourable the Governor-general, in conſequence of the drought in your dominions, requeſting a remiſſion of the duties on grain that might be exported from Benares to theſe parts; as the intereſts of both governments are mutual, in all likelihood my requeſt will be approved. I have likewiſe addreſſed the gentlemen at Benares, Patna, and Churan Chupra, deſiring they will encourage the merchants in exporting grain, as in your Highneſs's dominions the ſcarcity is ſo ſeverely felt, that many of your ſubjects have periſhed. It is not expedient that you ſhould ſuffer any exportation, at the ſame time it is neceſſary to ſhew a deference to his Majeſty; and I therefore recommend that your Highneſs ſhould write ſuch an anſwer to the royal Shoka as may not cauſe offence. Having from of old been honoured with your Highneſs's favour, I hope you will continue to gladden me with frequent letters of your health.

From

From the Nabob Vizier, in Reply: Received 30 *May* 1783.

Your pleaſing letter with the news of your health to the following purport, in anſwer to mine, is received, That "an anſwer to the Shoka of the moſt holy and "auſpicious king, on the ſubject of the exportation of "grain from theſe parts to Delhy, ſhould be ſo framed "as not to cauſe offence to his Majeſty; and that you, "with a view to the good of humanity, and from friend-"ſhip to me, had addreſſed the honourable Governor-"general concerning a remiſſion of the duties in Benares, "and alſo the gentlemen of Churan Chupra, &c. con-"cerning the giving encouragement to merchants."

The news of your welfare, and the other circumſtances communicated in your letter, are clearly and explicitly underſtood, and afford me ſatisfaction. It is certain that the improvement of my affairs, and the good of humanity, are ever the wiſh of your heart. Copies of my anſwer to the King, the Nabob Mujjeed ud Dowla, and Mirza Shuffer, go encloſed for peruſal.--Out of reſpect to the orders of majeſty, I have not returned a peremptory denial, but made ſome general excuſes; and it appears that before this, an account the dearneſs of grain, and the diſtreſs of the people, I iſſued my orders to Khewja, Ainudine Almaſs Ally Cawn, Mahomed Beg, &c. prohibiting the exportation of grain from my dominions.

I am encamped at Nanapara, on account of the plenty of game which is in this quarter. To-day by the ſtrength with which the Almighty has bleſſed me, I valiantly, and with ſprings like the Tyger, killed, by thouſands of arrows and muſket ſhots, an Elephant which would not yield to the Elephants of the Heavens in fierceneſs, and which in ſize would out-top the mountains—I granted ſalvation to a world labouring under his violence. In the ſpirit of the pureſt friendſhip I make this communication; and it is incumbent on you, that, conſidering me anxious for your health, you always write me letters.

A true tranſlation.

JOHN BRISTOW.

Extract of Secret Conſultations, Fort William, 21*ſt December* 1774.

The Governor-general objects to this propoſition, becauſe in his judgment, Mr. Briſtow is not qualified for the office, neither by his knowledge of the Perſian language, nor by any diſtinguiſhed abilities.

Extract

Extract of the Proceedings of the Governor General and Council of Bengal in the Secret Department the 2d Dec. 1776.

Governor-general.—I bring no charge againſt Mr. Briſtow. I do not accuſe him of any faults. I know of no charge that was produced againſt Mr. Middleton when he was removed. The majority of the Board thought proper at that time to remove the public miniſter at the court of the Nabob of Oude, who had received his nomination from me, and to appoint another in his ſtead, in whom they had a confidence. Highly as I eſteem the merits of Mr. Middleton, I will not bring them into an invidious compariſon with thoſe of Mr. Briſtow, whom, though totally unknown to me but by his public character, I eſteem.

Extract of the Proceedings of the Governor General and Council of Bengal, in their Public Department, the 2d October 1780.

Governor-general.—I will aſk who is Mr. Briſtow, that a member of the adminiſtration ſhould at ſuch a time hold him forth as an inſtrument for the degradation of the firſt executive member of this government? What are the profeſſed objects of his appointment? What are the merits of his ſervices? Or what the qualifications which entitle him to ſuch uncommon diſtinction? Is it from his ſuperior integrity, or from his eminent abilities, that he is to be dignified at ſuch hazard of any conſideration that ought to influence the members of the adminiſtration? Of the former (his integrity) I know no proofs; I am ſure it is not an evidence of it that he has been enabled to make himſelf the principal in ſuch a competition; and for the teſt of his abilities I appeal to the letter which he has dared to write to this Board, and which, I am aſhamed to ſay, we have ſuffered. I deſire that a copy of it may be inſerted in this day's proceedings, that it may ſtand before the eyes of every member of the Board, when he ſhall give his vote upon a queſtion for giving their confidence to a man (their ſervant) who has publicly inſulted them (his maſters) and the members of the government to whom he owes his obedience; who aſſuming an aſſociation with the Court of Directors, and erecting himſelf into a tribunal, has arraigned them for diſobedience of orders, paſſed judgment upon them, and condemned or acquitted them as their magiſtrate or ſuperior.—Let the Board conſider, whether a man poſſeſſed of ſo independent a ſpirit, who has already ſhewn a contempt of their authority, who has ſhewn himſelf ſo wretched

wretched an advocate for his own cauſe, and negociator for his own intereſt, is fit to be truſted with the guardianſhip of their honour, the execution of their meaſures, and as their confidential manager and negociator with the princes of India.

Extract of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor-general, to Edward Wheler and John Macpherſon, Eſquires; dated upon the Ganges, near Sookſagore, 22d September 1782.

I had the pleaſure of finding, upon the moſt impartial enquiry, that the conduct of Mr. Briſtow during his former reſidence at the court of the Vizier, had been proper and attentive; I accordingly wiſhed to recommend him to ſucceed the preſent Reſident, provided the Vizier had no reaſonable objections to his appointment.

Extract of a Memorandum tranſmitted in conformity to the Orders of the Honourable the Governor-general, by Major Davy, to Mr. Briſtow, in a Letter dated the 7th October 1782.

Major Palmer to inform the Nabob and his miniſters, that Mr. Briſtow is not the choice of the Gentlemen of the Council, but the Governor's own and ſole choice has now been formed on the moſt perfect knowledge of his integrity, honour, and abilities.

Extract of the Honourable the Governor-general's Minute into Council, the 30th of September 1783.

Is it poſſible that I could have uſed ſo much delicacy, and affected ſuch a tenderneſs towards the Nabob, if I meant to ſend a tyrant to rule over him?

I ſhall forbear to ſpeak my apprehenſions of the conſequences, if it ſhall be finally reſolved by the members of this Board, that Mr. Briſtow ſhall be formally veſted with the powers of ruling the dominions appertaining to the Nabob Aſſoph ul Dowla, and guarranteed to him againſt all invaders by a ſacred treaty, by which the faith and honour of the Britiſh Nation, and not the Company alone, are pledged to maintain it—a ſyſtem of ſuch controul cannot ſubſiſt on conſtructive powers; and if the Board do not notify to Mr. Briſtow the declaration which I have made of the revocation of them, which he received from me, and which he has groſsly abuſed, I ſhall; and at his peril let him hereafter quote them as containing the authority for his actions: thoſe who abet him in his conduct ought to preſcribe to him the rule of it; when I am made acquainted

acquainted with that rule, I will record my opinion of it. Would to God I could prevent it, and the dreadful conſequences which, however qualified, muſt attend the exerciſe of any dominion built on ſuch a foundation, and committed to ſuch a ruler!

Extract of the Governor General's Minute upon Mr. Johnſon's Defence; Conſultation, 21ſt October.

Upon the whole, though I have ſtrictly delivered my opinion on Mr. Johnſon's defence, I muſt add, that I think he has been ſufficiently puniſhed by the deprivation of his office, and by the ſeverity with which it was immediately effected: "not to be worſe ſtands in ſome rank of praiſe." His faults ſink to mere errors and inadvertencies, when compared with thoſe of his principal, and are wholly loſt in the contraſt with thoſe of the preſent Reſident.

True extracts.
(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Ordered, That the ſecretary do acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Briſtow's letter and its encloſures, and acquaint him, that copies thereof were tranſmitted, agreeable to his requeſt, to the honourable Court of Directors, with the diſpatches, by the Hinchingbrooke.

Read the following Letter from the Accountant-general.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſq; Governor-general, &c. Council of Fort William.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your commands of yeſterday's date, directing me to prepare "an accurate ſtatement of all the allowances paid by the "Nabob Vizier ſince the treaty of Chunar, with the "vouchers for them, and to tranſmit the ſame to your "honourable Board without delay."

In obedience to theſe commands all the public accounts of the Lucknow ſtation, in which I have any official concern, have been carefully inſpected, and are not found to contain an entry of any ſuch payment; nor have there ever been tranſmitted from that ſtation to this office any other vouchers than the copies of ſuch as appear to have been taken for the monthly allowances of the honourable Company's covenanted ſervants and ſurgeon attached to the ſtation, paid by the Reſident, and carried to the honourable Company's debit.

There

There is however an inſtance which may appear in ſome meaſure a deviation from this aſſertion, and ſomewhat analogous to the deſcription given of theſe required by the Board. This occurs in the month of March 1783, and is ſtated as follows, in the entry made thereof, to the debit of the Nabob.

I have the honour to be, with great reſpect,
Fort William, honourable Sir and Sirs,
Accountant general's office, Your moſt obedient
14th Dec. 1785. humble ſervant,
(Signed) WM. LARKINS,
Accountant-general.

Amount paid Major Palmer his allowance for three months, on a deputation to Fyzoola Cawn	9,000
Paid Mr. Grant his allowance for three months, as aſſiſtant to the deputation - - -	4,500
Fyz. 16 ſun Sa. rupees -	13,500

MAJOR PALMER'S LETTERS AND INSTRUCTIONS.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 6th October 1783.

THE Governor-general delivers in the following minute, with two letters from Major Palmer, and one from Hyder Beg Cawn, dated 6th October 1783.

The Governor-general lays before the Board two letters lately received from MajorPalmer, and one from Hyder Beg Cawn. As both refer to Lieutenant Colonel Martin, as having been privy to many of the circumſtances which relate to the complaints exhibited againſt Mr. Briſtow, and as Hyder Beg Cawn directly appeals to his teſtimony for the truth of his repreſentation of them, I deſire that a letter may be written by the ſecretary, in the name of the Board, to Lieutenant Colonel Martin, requiring him to declare in writing, and with the ſolemnity of an oath, a narrative of all that he knows concerning the various matters of complaint which have paſſed between the Nabob Vizier, and his miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn on one part, and Mr. Briſtow on the other.

Major Palmer having, in his firſt letter, alluded to a private correſpondence which paſſed between him and Mr. Cowper, which that gentleman carried to be copied for the uſe of Mr. Briſtow, and the ſubſtance and tendency of the ſame having been long ſince ſuggeſted to the Governor-general, in terms which ſeemed to be intended to impreſs

impreſs him with unfavourable ſentiments of Major Palmer, for the ſhare which he has had in the late tranſactions at Lucknow, the Governor-general requeſts, that if the other members of the Board are in poſſeſſion of a copy of this correſpondence, and conceive that any inference may be drawn from it, which may ſerve to illuſtrate any part of the general ſubject, they will be pleaſed to lay it before the Board, that it may be recorded with the other correſponding materials.

Sir,

The proceedings of Mr. Briſtow ſince his laſt appointment to the office of Reſident at the court of the Nabob Vizier, having been publicly complained of to you by the Vizier and his acting miniſter, as highly injurious to the rights, intereſt, and dignity of the former, and as unjuſt, arbitrary, and oppreſſive to the latter, and the ſhare of interference which I have avowedly taken in thoſe tranſactions having been miſrepreſented both in the motives and degree, and affected to be conſidered as the reſult of a concerted plan for encouraging an oppoſition in the miniſter to the meaſure and authority of the Reſident, and of creating a miſunderſtanding between them, for the purpoſe of removing Mr. Briſtow from his office; I think it my duty to make a public report to you of ſuch tranſactions as have been communicated to me by the Vizier and his miniſter, on what grounds I thought myſelf obliged to interfere in their complaints, and to what extent that interference has been carried, that you and the public may judge whether my conduct has been actuated by malignant or intereſted views, or by motives of duty and fidelity to you, and of regard to the Company's and the national intereſt.

You will be pleaſed to recollect, Sir, that after I had left Lucknow laſt year, on my return to the preſidency, from an unſucceſsful commiſſion with which you had charged me to the Vizier, you communicated to me the appointment of Mr. Briſtow to the reſidency of Oude, and directed me to return to Lucknow, and in your name to acquaint the Vizier and his miniſters of this appointment, to impreſs on their minds a firm reliance on your having given Mr. Briſtow your entire confidence, and of your determination to afford him your utmoſt ſupport, and to endeavour to eſtabliſh reciprocal confidence and cordiality.

Having faithfully and zealouſly executed this commiſſion, I ſhould have left Lucknow, and returned to Calcutta, conformably to your inſtructions, had I not at that time received intimation, that you were diſpoſed to favour

favour a propoſal which I had made to you of an eſtabliſhment for myſelf in this quarter, which would have required my preſence at Lucknow if it had taken place. I therefore remained here principally for my own convenience, but with the hopes alſo of cementing the harmony which I flattered myſelf I had been inſtrumental in founding at the Durbar, but I received very early intimation of a diſpoſition in Mr. Briſtow, which greatly damped this hope; I heard from various quarters, that Mr. Briſtow had declared his diſaffection to your perſon, and diſclaimed all dependance on your authority and influence; and the firſt ſtep which Mr. Briſtow took after his arrival at Lucknow, clearly tended to deſtroy that confidence which the public ſervice required ſhould ſubſiſt between him and the miniſter, and to alarm the latter for his perſonal ſecurity, and the ſtability of his office. Mr. Briſtow had authorized Lieutenant Colonel Martin to enter into a written engagement with the miniſter, implying fidelity and obedience on the part of the latter, and confidence and ſupport on the part of Mr. Briſtow; this engagement Mr. Briſtow thought proper to cancel, and to leave the miniſter without any reliance on his favour or protection.

The apprehenſions of the miniſter, at a tranſaction ſo extraordinary and alarming, were confirmed and increaſed by a demand which Mr. Briſtow ſoon after made upon him of twenty-five lacks of rupees, from his own private fortune, for the public ſervice, under the menace of being diſmiſſed from his office in caſe of refuſal. The next occurrence which was repreſented to me for your information, was a requiſition made by Mr. Briſtow to the miniſter of a Shoka in the Vizier's name, but without his knowledge, directing the payment of ſpecific monthly ſubſidy, for the Futty Ghur detachment.

Before my departure for Rampoor I was informed that Mr. Briſtow required of the Vizier to diſplace certain of his houſhold officers, and that others of his nomination ſhould be admitted in their room. Some time after my arrival at that place, I received intelligence from the miniſter, that Mr. Briſtow had proceeded to regulate, by his own authority, and againſt the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances and oppoſition of the Vizier, the offices and expences of the houſhold, for which purpoſe he appointed a Cuzaunchee and Muſhriff; directed a ſeparate place for the reception of the treaſure; took the receipts and diſburſements under his own charge; obliged the Mutteſudys to attend Mr. Cowper with the accounts of the houſhold, under many circumſtances of rigour and diſgrace; and made many

many reductions and regulations in the Vizier's domeſtic œconomy.

The next ſubject of complaint, with which I was deſired to make you acquainted, was the mode of interference which Mr. Briſtow made uſe of in eſtabliſhing an adaulut, in the name of the Vizier, but under the controul of Mr. Cowper; who, as it was ſtated to me, held the courts in his own houſe, and received, examined, and decided upon petitions; and alſo dictated the decrees to be ſigned, ſome by the Vizier himſelf, and others by the Aumils in whoſe juriſdiction the complaints reſpectively lay.

Mr. Briſtow, of his own authority, and without the knowledge of the Vizier, ordered the reduction of four thouſand cavalry, and ſeven thouſand infantry; he alſo aſſumed the payment of the Vizier's cavalry, and appointed Mr. Cowper to the office of paymaſter; directed Tunkaws for the payment of the troops to be included in the Company's Jydads, upon which Tunkaws two lacks of rupees were actually collected and paid in to Mr. Cowper, but refunded from the ſtrong oppoſition made by the Vizier.

Mr. Briſtow peremptorily directed the miniſter, by letter, to ſend Mahomed Beg as Sazoul to Furrockabad, without the knowledge of the Vizier.

The miniſter repeatedly adviſed me of Mr. Briſtow's having encouraged the Vizier to diſgrace and puniſh him, giving the Vizier aſſurances that our government would not diſapprove of or interfere in any meaſure which he might think proper to take with his own ſervants; this relation the Vizier himſelf confirmed to me.

It has been reported to me, and in ſome inſtances has been proved to you, that whenever the Vizier's refuſal has been oppoſed to any of the above meaſures, Mr. Briſtow has declared, and even to the Vizier himſelf, his determination to carry them into execution whether the Vizier conſented to them or not.

Mr. Briſtow having, of his own authority, granted Tunkaws upon that part of the revenue aſſigned for defraying the Vizier's houſhold expences, to be paid to the Cuzaunchee and Mooſhriff, whom he had appointed, ſent for the Vizier's ſeal, in order to affix them to the Purwannahs directed to the Aumils; the Vizier at firſt refuſed to ſend his ſeal, but fearing that Mr. Briſtow would execute the meaſures without it, and thereby degrade his authority, at length complied; when Mr. Briſtow rejected the uſe of the Vizier's ſeal, and declared that his own ſhould ſuffice, and be of equal validity in all public acts of this government.

Other inſtances of the high tone of authority over this government, and of independence on yours, which Mr. Briſtow has aſſumed, have been circumſtantially and conſiſtently related to me, which having paſſed in converſation only, do not eaſily admit of proof, and which perhaps are not material if they did; but every other tranſaction herein particularly recited appeared to me of ſuch high importance to the peace and ſecurity of both governments, to the national character for juſtice and moderation, and to your perſonal reputation, and are ſo inconſiſtent with the ſentiments I have ever heard you expreſs, and were, beſides, accompanied with ſuch teſtimony, either in writing or by references to Lieutenant Colonel Martin's knowledge of the facts, that I muſt have violated every obligation of duty and fidelity to you and to the Company, if I had refuſed the requiſitions of the Vizier and his miniſter, to forward their repreſentations to you.

Beſides theſe obligations which I owe to you and to the Company, in common with every other member of your family and government, a more particular one was impoſed upon me, by the commiſſion with which you charged me to the Vizier, to eſtabliſh the credit and influence of Mr. Briſtow at his court, and to encourage the Vizier to a reliance on Mr. Briſtow's good diſpoſition towards him. I muſt have forfeited my own character, and have ſubjected yours to unjuſt ſuſpicion, if I had refuſed to be inſtrumental in obtaining from you a redreſs of grievances, which in your name I had encouraged the Vizier to hope he would never experience.

The ſhare which I had taken in the complaints againſt Mr. Briſtow having been incidentally mentioned by me in a correſpondence with Mr. Cowper on a private ſubject, that Gentleman thought proper to furniſh Mr. Briſtow with a copy of it, which I underſtand has been forwarded to Calcutta. This is a principal reaſon for my ſuppoſition in the former part of this addreſs, that it would be attempted to be proved, that my continuance at Lucknow, after my return from Rampore, was for the purpoſes of encouraging the miniſter to oppoſe the meaſures of Mr. Briſtow, and to excite complaints againſt his conduct.

I am as certain that no ſuch inference can be fairly drawn from any part of that correſpondence, as that the direct reverſe is the truth.

My detention at that period was occaſioned entirely be two young children being ſucceſſively ſeized with the ſmall pox, and before their recovery I received your commands to remain at Lucknow, in conſequence of the public complaints which had reached you from the Vizier

and

and his miniſter againſt Mr. Briſtow. It was the complaints againſt Mr. Briſtow which cauſed my ſtay, and not my ſtay which cauſed the complaints; and ſo far have I been from exciting them, I ſolemnly declare that I never enquired of the miniſters, or any other perſon, into the proceedings of Mr. Briſtow. The communications of them were made to me ſometimes by the Vizier himſelf, but more frequently by the miniſter on his own behalf, and on that of the Vizier; and all the encouragement I gave to them, was to hope for redreſs if the complaints were juſt; and even this with the ſtricteſt caution againſt accuſations either frivolous or falſe, warning the miniſter, that if they were found to be ſuch, the miſchief which he intended to others would recoil upon himſelf. It was my conſtant advice to the miniſter, to comply without delay or heſitation with every requiſition which Mr. Briſtow made in the name of government; but to demand ſuch requiſitions ſhould be made in writing, for his own ſecurity, and juſtification to his maſter.

How much ſoever it may be the intereſt of Mr. Briſtow to have it believed that complaints againſt him have been ſought for and encouraged, he will never eſtabliſh ſuch a belief, whilſt your character obviates the poſſibility of a ſuſpicion that you could employ a man who has poſſeſſed your confidence and eſteem for near ten years in the debaſing office which Mr. Briſtow would aſſign to me; and I truſt that the invariable tenor of my own conduct will, to all who know it, acquit me of being capable of either aſſuming or accepting ſuch an office.

Lucknow, 16th Sept. 1783. I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) WM. PALMER.

Sir,

Since the diſpatch of my public addreſs to you of the 16th inſtant, I have diſcovered that I was miſtaken as to the circumſtance of Mr. Briſtow having authorized Lieutenant Colonel Martin to enter into the engagement therein mentioned with Hyder Beg Cawn, and which Mr. Briſtow, after his arrival, diſavowed and cancelled. I now underſtand that Lieut. Col. Martin, as the confidential friend and agent of Mr. Briſtow, gave, of his own authority, a written aſſurance for the purpoſe of removing his apprehenſions of the reſentment of Mr. Briſtow on account of a former miſunderſtanding between them. This difference in the manner of the tranſaction makes little or none in the ſubſtance of it, and the inference which I drew from it ſtill remains the ſame.

Lucknow, 20th Sept. 1783. I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) W. PALMER.

Conſultation 21ſt October.

Governor General. 20th October 1783.

THE frequent uſe which has been lately made of Major Palmer's name in the records of the late tranſactions at Lucknow, the aſſertion made by Mr. Johnſon in his defence, that Major Palmer was at Lucknow in the character of a political agent, and the private ſuggeſtions which have been conveyed to me of miſconſtructions, paſſed on the nature and object of Major Palmer's deputation, compel me to lay before the Board the original inſtructions which he received from me, and which, if I can truſt to my own recollection, and the rule of conduct which I have invariably preſcribed myſelf in caſes of this kind, were both ſeen and approved of by the actual members of the Board. I own that it is with reluctance that I preſent them. They were not intended to be recorded, their primary object being more to quiet the mind of the Nabob, to whom I owed that return of attention, for the honeſt attachment which he ſhewed to me when he thought me in diſtreſs, and my perſon in danger, than for any other purpoſe. This muſt account for the unapplied heads of memorandums with which the inſtructions conclude. I cannot at this time, were it neceſſary, explain them, but know that they were deſigned only to preſerve his recollection of the looſe and undetermined ideas which I had communicated to him in converſation reſpecting them.

I deſire that this minute, with Major Palmer's inſtructions, may be added to the other papers which have been recorded on the general ſubject of the complaints preferred againſt Mr. Briſtow, and tranſmitted with them by this diſpatch to the Court of Directors.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true Copy.

E. Hay,

Acting Secretary to the Secret Department.

Conſultation, 21ſt October.

To Major William Palmer.

Sir, Fort William, 6th May 1782.

I depute you to go to Lucknow, and to wait upon the Nabob Vizier in my name, obſerving the following inſtructions:

1ſt. You will aſſure him, that I feel it a ſenſible diſappointment that I am myſelf diſabled from performing the viſit to his court which I promiſed him at Chunar, by

by many cauſes which at this time render my preſence at Calcutta indiſpenſably neceſſary. Theſe cauſes, as they are fully known to you, you will explain as far as you ſhall judge it proper, or conducive to the other and more eſſential points of your commiſſion.

2dly. It has been a matter of equal concern and ſurprize to me, to learn by the letters of the Reſident, that the Nabob Vizier was with difficulty, and an almoſt unconquerable reluctance, induced to give his conſent to the attachment of the treaſure depoſited by his father under the charge of the Begum his mother, and to the reſumption of her Jagheer, and the other Jagheers of the individuals of his family, although theſe meaſures were the effects of his own ſuggeſtion, and propoſed with great earneſtneſs to me for my concurrence.

I deſire that you will inform him, that in theſe and the other meaſures which were either propoſed by him, or received his concurrence in the agreement paſſed between us at Chunar, I neither had, nor could have any object but his relief, and the ſtrengthening of his connections with the Company, and that I ſhould not on any other ground have expoſed myſelf to the perſonal obloquy which they could not fail to draw upon me by my participation in them, but left him to regulate by his own diſcretion, and by his own means, the œconomy of his own finances, and with much more cauſe the aſſertion of his domeſtic right. In theſe he had no regular claim to my interference, nor had I, in my public character, any claim upon him, but for the payment of the debt then due from him to the Company, although I was under the ſtrongeſt obligations to require it for the relief of the preſſing exigencies of their affairs. He will well remember the manner in which, at a viſit to him in his own tent, I declared my acquieſcence freely and without heſitation to each propoſition, which afterwards formed the ſubſtance of a written agreement as he ſeverally made them; and he can want no other evidences of my motive for ſo chearful a conſent, nor for the requeſt which I added to the means of fulfilling his purpoſes in them. Had he not made theſe meaſures his own option, I ſhould not have propoſed them; but having once adopted them, and made them the conditions of a formal and ſacred agreement, I had no longer an option to diſpenſe with them, but was bound to the complete performance and execution of them as points of public duty and of national faith, for which I was reſponſible to my king and the Company, my immediate ſuperiors; and this was the reaſon for my inſiſting ſo peremptorily in their performance and execution, when I was told that the Nabob himſelf

had relaxed from his original purpoſe, and expreſſed a reluctance to proceed in it.

When you have given him this explanation of my motives in regard to the late tranſactions, you will endeavour to learn, both by immediate application for that effect to the Nabob himſelf, and by enquiry with others, what were the real cauſes which influenced the apparent change in his inclination reſpecting this tranſaction; and whether he had any grounds for offence or diſſatisfaction in the courſe of it.

As theſe, if they exiſt, are beyond the reach of any ſatisfactory conjecture which I can form, I can give you no ſpecial inſtructions for your reply, but leave you to remove the Nabob's exception by ſuch aſſurances as you may be enabled to make to him by your general but intimate knowledge of my ſentiments and intention in whatever has a relation to his intereſts, and his alliance with the Company and the Britiſh nation.

3dly. I deſire you to endeavour to obtain from the miniſters, and from Almaſs Alli Cawn, ſuch ſums of money as they can ſpare from their own means, or raiſe by their credit upon loan, for the ſervice of the Company. To effect this, it will be neceſſary to convince them, that they will be no loſers by it; but that, on the contrary, their property will require a ſecurity from being lodged in the Company's funds. Explain to them the nature of the Company's intereſt notes, and the means of credit by which they paſs in circulation, and are transferable from the original to other ſucceſſive proprietors, ſo as to give them a juſt idea of the tenure, and of the equal footing on which Native, Alien, and Britiſh Proprietors ſtand in the poſſeſſion of them. At the ſame time, it will be proper to apprize them of the fluctuation of their current value, which it would be criminal to ſuppreſs. You may aſſure them that when peace is reſtored to our eſtabliſhment, and our expences are conſequently diminiſhed, the debt will be gradually paid off, as a former debt, contracted before my appointment to the government, to a much longer amount, was diſcharged in the courſe of two years, within your own remembrance; and that the eſtimated value of the notes will riſe to the rates of their ſpecific ſums, and even above them, on the proſpect of payment; ſo that the proprietors will be ſubjected to no loſs, unleſs they ſhall chuſe to part with their property in the notes during the intermediate time of our inability to diſcharge them, the annual intereſt due in the interval being duly and punctually paid. I have no doubt of their fidelity, but it can no way be ſo ſtrongly ſhewn, nor

the

the Company's ſupport of them ſo ſtrongly engaged, as by the aſſiſtance required.

4thly. The Nabob Vizier having, by an intimation made to Mr. Middleton in the month of February laſt, been pleaſed to expreſs his deſire to make me a preſent of ten lacks of rupees, and requeſted my previous conſent and acceptance of the ſame, I deſire you will make my acknowledgement in proper terms for this inſtance of his liberality and benevolence; and acquaint him that I am precluded from accepting it by many conditions, but by one eſpecially, which I beg him to take in good part; namely, that if I had received it at the time in which the tender of it was made, it would have been liable to conſtructions, even in his breaſt, ſo repugnant to the diſintereſted friendſhip which I profeſs, and bear towards him, that no conſideration of perſonal profit could have induced me to accept it at ſuch hazard. If he ſhould renew the offer to you, you will inform him that my objection remains the ſame, and is inſuperable, but that if he will be pleaſed to transfer it to the Company, for the relief of their preſent and known diſtreſſes, I will accept of it on their behalf, with a thankfulneſs equal to that which I ſhould have felt and expreſſed for the gift, had it been made to myſelf; the wants of the Company being at this time of equal concern to me as my own. Let him underſtand this ſubject rightly, and he will ſee in my refuſal, thus qualified, the moſt convincing proof of my friendſhip for him, and regard for his intereſt.

5thly. It is very much my deſire to impreſs the Nabob with a thorough confidence in the faith and juſtice of our government, that is to ſay, in my own, while I am at the head of it: I cannot be anſwerable for the acts of others, independent of me. I hope it will not be difficult to convince him of this truth; for I have certainly afforded proofs of it, nor has the reverſe been ever perſonally imputed to me. It is my deſire to aſſiſt him in regulating his adminiſtration, becauſe the ſucceſs of my own is nearly connected with it; but is much more liable to ſuffer by its defects or misfortunes.—The inverſion of this obſervation will not apply to the effects of our misfortunes on his affairs, except in the moſt deſperate extremes.—Though we have been involved in wars with all the ſtates around us, his dominions have enjoyed a ſtate of tranquillity undiſturbed by foreign enemies, becauſe we have ſtood between him and thoſe who might have been his enemies. But were we to withdraw that interpoſition, he would ſoon experience a dreadful reverſe.—I know not how you will convince him of this by words,

nor do I wiſh to put it to the proof; but you may aſſure him, that we will never interfere in his affairs beyond his own deſire, nor make any claim upon him, but for what may remain of his debt to the Company, the payment of his ſubſidy, and of the future charges incurred by other detachments employed at his requiſition and for his defence. Much delicacy and caution will be required in your declarations on this ſubject, leſt they ſhould be conſtrued to extend to an immediate change in the adminiſtration of his affairs, or to the inſtruments of it. Their perſons muſt be conſidered as ſacred, while they act with the participation of our influence. This diſtinction the Nabob underſtands, nor will it be either neceſſary or proper to allude to it, unleſs he himſelf ſhould firſt introdue the ſubject.

6thly. Give the miniſter privately aſſurances of the preſent ſupport and future protection of our government.

Let your ſtay with the Nabob Vizier be ſhort, and be careful to prevent its affecting the influence of the Reſident.

For your complete information upon the ſubject of theſe inſtructions, I ſhall furniſh you with copies of the agreement made by me with the Nabob Vizier in Auguſt laſt, and of my inſtructions to the Reſident reſpecting it.

I ſhall alſo give you letters of introduction both to the Nabob Vizier, and to the miniſters.

The following are given you as the heads of ſubjects recommended to your enquiry, but too variable for ſpecific inſtructions:

Goorookpoor and Bareich.
Jagheers.
Fyzoola Cawn.
Furrackabad.
The King.

You will communicate theſe inſtructions, and my ſentiments on every other ſubject of your miſſion, to Major Davy, who attends you as your aſſiſtant, and in caſe that ſickneſs or any other accident ſhould prevent your proceeding to Lucknow, you will transfer them to his charge for execution.

I am, &c. &c.
(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Acting Sec. to the Secret Department.

Mr.

Mr. Hastings's Proposal to Visit Lucknow, 1784.

Mr. Haſtings' Minute.

Governor General. 20th January 1784.

IT is with reluctance that I bring before the Board a ſubject of the greateſt importance, at a period not oſtenſibly requiring it; but the neceſſity of it has been long ſince foreſeen, and not unnoticed in the verbal communications which I have had occaſion to make to the members of the Board.

On the 28th of laſt month, while the late arrangement of the concerns of this government in the province of Owd was under diſcuſſion, I received a letter from my ſecretary, Major Palmer, at Lucknow, containing a very alarming repreſentation of the diſordered ſtate of that country, and urging the neceſſity of my repairing to Lucknow for the purpoſe of giving my perſonal and early aſſiſtance to the Nabob Vizier for their retrieval.

From other letters, which have been ſince received from Lucknow upon the ſame ſubject, I underſtand that this was the expreſſed wiſh of the Nabob Vizier, his miniſter, and all the principal perſons of his family and court; and I have great reaſon to believe, that as ſoon as the Nabob ſhall have received the notification lately tranſmitted to him of the laſt reſolutions of the Board, he will declare the ſame wiſh in terms, and connect it with his acceptance of the engagement preſcribed to him.

It is neither conſiſtent with my intereſt or eaſe to reſign the ordinary tranſactions of my ſtation, and by accepting the detail of a ſingle and inferior department, engage in a ſcene of difficulties, ſome of which derive their origin from natural cauſes, and may be inſurmountable by human exertions; nor am I very anxious to hazard my reputation on the ſucceſs of ſo doubtful a ſervice; yet as the Board has been pleaſed to commit the affairs of that province in an eſpecial manner to my charge, and have given me the moſt poſitive aſſurances of their ſupport, to enable me to acquit myſelf of ſo weighty a reſponſibility, I conceive this to be a caſe which will not allow of my attending to any perſonal ſuggeſtion. My ſervices are at all times, and in all caſes, primarily due to the moſt important and moſt urgent calls of this government. To the importance and urgency of the preſent exigency are added the obligation of a ſpecial truſt and engagement, and the pledge of the moſt powerful aid for my encouragement.

I there-

I therefore make this early tender of my ſervices to proceed to Lucknow, whenever I ſhall receive an invitation from the Nabob Vizier to that effect, for the purpoſe of regulating the Company's intereſts in that province, and affording the Nabob Vizier the like aſſiſtance for the regulation of his.

My reaſons for thus anticipating the call which I have ſuppoſed are many.

I have already premiſed, which I now repeat in more forcible terms, that I am morally aſſured of receiving ſuch a call from the Nabob Vizier; and I make no ſcruple of affirming, that I can implicitly rely on the deference which he has ever ſhewn to my advice, and on his confidence in my juſtice and good faith, for the moſt willing co-operation on his part in the meaſures which I ſhall recommend for his ſervice, and as prompt and ready a ſubmiſſion to the rights which I may excluſively aſſert on the behalf of the Company.

The accumulating diſtreſſes of that country require preventive no leſs than remedial applications. The adminiſtration of his government requires the vigorous exertion of the powers of our own to reſtore and confirm the authority which has been looſened from it. His revenue requires the ſuperintendency of officers acknowledging their dependence on their conſtitutional maſter, and poſſeſſed of credit and characters equal to the reſponſibility. The balance of the Company's debt, and its progreſſive growth, depend for their payment on the ſame proviſions; and the liquidation of our own current and bonded debts, together with the credit of our treaſury, equally depend on the early liquidation of that which is due to the Company from the province of Owd. The dearth which has already ſhewn itſelf in ſome ſevere effects, will require the ſame co-operative aid to remedy ſo much of this calamity as may proceed from artificial, grounded on natural cauſes.

The Sics, who have been for ſome time forming in large bodies, and have avowed their deſign on the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, require early preparations to meet and repel them; and I have cauſe to believe that the preſence of the executive member of this government, ſuppoſed to poſſeſs the command of all its powers and reſources, would contribute much to diſcourage the attempt, and ſuperſede the neceſſity of more ſubſtantial operations. Such are the objects of the propoſed meaſure, and the neceſſity of its early execution is involved in the terms of each, nor is it poſſible to ſtate them in others which ſhall exclude it. But to theſe I muſt add other conſiderations, derived from my own ſituation:—firſt, a

reſpect

reſpect due to the conſtitutional rights of the individual members of the Board, and ſomething due to my own credit, which impel me to bring the queſtion before the Board, while every member of it now preſent may have an opportunity of giving his opinion upon it, and thereby alſo to guard myſelf againſt the imputation of ſeeking the advantage of carrying it by my own caſting vote. Secondly, the deſire which I have to poſſeſs the official aſſiſtance of Mr. David Anderſon, whoſe weak ſtate of health, derived from a late dangerous illneſs, has induced him to reſolve on a voyage to Europe for his recovery: on intimating to him the poſſibility of my being called upon this ſervice, and the indiſpenſable call which I ſhould in this caſe have for his, he chearfully agreed to yield it to me, and to ſuſpend the engagement of his paſſage until the lateſt period requiring it, that he might be at liberty to attend me.

I ſhould be ſorry to ſeem to depreciate the merit of others by an excluſive preference ſhewn to one; for I know many of the Company's ſervants, who are equal to any truſts that may repoſed in them; many, who in talents and integrity are entitled to receive the moſt public teſtimony of my eſteem and approbation; but I have been long in official habits with Mr. Anderſon; I know him; his diſpoſition and manner of thinking agree with my own; and, in the peculiar line in which I ſhould wiſh to employ him, there is not another on whom I could ſo confidently rely. I do not think it reaſonable to keep him longer in ſuſpence, and on that conſideration alone, were there no other, I would entreat the Board to bring this point to an inſtant deciſion.

I repeat, that I do not ſolicit the ſervice which I have offered to undertake, but ſimply offer it, with the moſt firm determination to hazard every intereſt that is dear to me in the proſecution of it, if it ſhall be the option of the Board to aſſign it to me; and I ſhall expect, in that event, to be inveſted with the full powers of my office, that is to ſay, ſuch as I have had eſpecially committed to me on ſimilar occaſions.

If the Board ſhall not chuſe to accept of my offer, I ſhall reſt contented with the complete diſcharge of my duty in having both made it, and uſed my endeavours to render it effectual.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true copy.

E. Hay,

Secretary.

Minutes

Minutes of Mr. Stables and Mr. Wheler.

The following minutes were received on the 23d ult. from Mr. Wheler and Mr. Stables, and communicated to the Governor-general.

Mr. Stables. 21ſt January 1784.

I am ſorry that I cannot accept of the Governor-general's offer to proceed to Lucknow. In my opinion the executive member of government ought to remain at the preſidency, and moſt particularly at this time, when we are in daily expectation of receiving the news of new arrangements from home.

A true copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

Mr. Wheler. 21ſt January 1784.

In giving my opinion on the very important queſtion brought forward in the Governor-general's minute of yeſterday, it is neceſſary for me to make a reference to what paſſed before upon the ſubject.

On the 31ſt December 1783, the Board reſolved to withdraw the reſidency from Lucknow, and to confirm the Governor-general's acceptance of the reſponſibility and charge of affairs there, as explained in the minute agreed to and delivered in by Mr. Macpherſon, Mr. Stables, and myſelf, on the ſame day.

Previous to the reſolution the Governor-general repreſented the neceſſity which he conceived there was for his repairing to Lucknow, for the purpoſe of accompliſhing thoſe plans which alone could place the Company's concerns in the Nabob's country in a more proſperous ſtate. Againſt the acceptance of this many difficulties occurred, and in conſequence it was, after much deliberation, mutually and unanimouſly agreed to decline the acceptance of the Governor-general's tender of his perſonal ſervices in the Nabob Vizier's country, and this part of the propoſal ended in converſation, without being entered on our recorded debates; however, in candour I muſt acknowledge, that no claim was preferred on the one hand to bring forward this queſtion at a future day, nor on the other was any attempt made to preclude it, ſhould the meaſure hereafter appear more ſtrongly neceſſary.

But I flattered myſelf that in ſo ſhort an interval as between the 31ſt December and 20th January, no motives more preſſing, or reaſons more urgent than thoſe which had already been brought in argument, would have occurred to prompt the Governor-general to the revival of

of

of a queſtion of ſuch magnitude as that of his departure from the preſidency, at a time when his ſervices here are ſo eſſentially required, and I conſidered myſelf the more warranted in this hope, becauſe no advices can have arrived from Lucknow ſince the Nabob Vizier received the notification of the reſolution of the Board to accept the offer made by himſelf and his miniſter of giving the ſecurity of bankers of known credit and reſponſibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and of the current demands of the year. It was true, the Governor-general's viſit to Lucknow is ſaid to be the expreſſed wiſh of the Nabob Vizier, his miniſter, and all the principal perſons of his family and court, and that the ſame will probably be declared in terms, and be connected with the engagement preſcribed to him; if ſuch be the Nabob Vizier's intention, a very ſhort period of time will be ſufficient to enable the Board to receive his requiſition in form.

Great merit is certainly due to the Governor-general for his zealous tender of his ſervices on this occaſion, which, he ſays, are at all times and in all caſes primarily due to the moſt important and moſt urgent calls of this government; but in the preſent terms and circumſtances of the queſtion, I muſt beg leave to decline anticipating the neceſſity which may ariſe of accepting them in the way they are offered: for I think the preſence of the Governor-general at our Board ſhould never be diſpenſed with but on the moſt preſſing and moſt important occaſions; and I repeat, that I deem it at this particular juncture eſſentially requiſite.

But ſhould the Nabob Vizier, in his letters to this government, preſs the aſſiſtance of the Governor-general's abilities in forming new arrangements for the internal government of his country, and the aid of his perſonal and official influence to carry them into execution, and ſhould ſtate it as a meaſure abſolutely neceſſary to be adopted for the regulation of his finances, and the ſpeedy liquidation of his debt to the Company, connecting it alſo with his acceptance of the engagement preſcribed to him; and if the Governor-general ſhall be of opinion that his ſervices can be more effectual, and generally beneficial to the intereſts of the Company, by their being employed in that country, than in the arduous and important duties annexed to his ſtation here, I ſhall not ſhrink from the additional weight of labour and reſponſibility which will in that caſe devolve on me, but ſhall think myſelf acting up to the ſpirit of the minute delivered in by Mr. Macpherſon, Mr. Stables, and myſelf, in giving the Governor-general this opportunity of acquitting himſelf of the reſpon-

reſponſibility he is thereby charged with in the affairs of the Nabob of Oude. This opinion I hope and truſt will meet with the concurrence of the other members of the Board; and I venture to expreſs a confidence in the hearty co-operation with me, during the Governor-general's abſence, in diſcharging the important duties which belong to our government.

A true copy.

E. Hay,
Secretary.

Extract of the Secret Letter from Bengal, dated the 7th February 1784.

Par. 21. YOUR honourable Court has already been made acquainted with the reſolution which we thought it neceſſary to paſs on the 31ſt of December, for withdrawing the reſidency from Lucknow, and accepting the offer made by his Excellency the Vizier and his miniſter, of the ſecurity of bankers of known credit and reſponſibility for the payment of the balance due from his Excellency to the Company, and other current expences, the Governor-general being ſpecially reſponſible for the propriety of the meaſure. Mr. Wombwell, our Accountant at Lucknow, having been directed to receive ſuch ſecurity from the Vizier, has lately tranſmitted to us a copy of the engagement entered into by two bankers, named Lela Butchrauge, and Faquir Chund; in which they make themſelves anſwerable for the ſum of Lucknow Sicca rupees 1,03,84,420, being the balance due from his Excellency to the Company at the end of the laſt Fuſſilee year, as well as for the ſubſidy and other current demands of the preſent year, according to a ſtatement adjuſted by Mr. Briſtow. Part is to be paid in the courſe of the preſent year 1191, and the remainder in the courſe of the next year 1192 Fuſſulee. A copy of the engagement attends you, a number in the packet.

22. The Governor-general having laid before us copies of a correſpondence which paſſed between Mr. Wombwell and Mr. Briſtow, by which it appears, that Mr. Briſtow has heſitated to obey the order which directed his return to the preſidency, in conſequence of ſome doubts expreſſed to be primarily founded on the terms of that order, which he expreſſes to be "looſe and indefinite," we have ſent our peremptory commands to Mr. Briſtow to leave Lucknow, and repair to the preſidency immediately, directing, in like manner, the aſſiſtants of his office to do the ſame.

23. We

23. We have the honour to tranſmit to you a number in this diſpatch, copy of a minute delivered by the Governor-general, on the 20th of laſt month; in which the Governor informs us of a letter he had received from his ſecretary, Major Palmer, at Lucknow, containing a very alarming repreſentation of the diſordered ſtate of the Vizier's dominions, and urging the neceſſity of his repairing to Lucknow for the purpoſe of giving his perſonal and early aſſiſtance to the Nabob Vizier for their retrieval: and that from other letters received from Lucknow upon the ſame ſubject, the Governor-general underſtands that this was the expreſſed wiſh of the Nabob Vizier, his miniſter, and all the principal perſons of his family and court; having alſo great reaſon to believe, that as ſoon as the Nabob ſhould have received the notification lately tranſmitted to him, of the laſt reſolutions of the Board, he would decline the ſame wiſh in terms, and connect it with his acceptance of the engagement preſcribed to him. The Governor-general has therefore made us an early tender of his ſervices, to proceed to Lucknow whenever he ſhall receive an invitation from the Nabob Vizier to that effect, for the purpoſe of regulating the Company's intereſts in that province, and affording the Nabob Vizier the like aſſiſtance for the regulation of his.

24. For the other important reaſons which have induced the Governor-general to make this offer, we beg leave to refer you to his minute, which we deem well deſerving your attention. The minutes of the other members of the Board now at the preſidency, on this ſubject, are alſo encloſed numbers in this addreſs; and by theſe you will obſerve, that the Governor-general's tender of his ſervices to repair to Lucknow, has been accepted on the following conditions; viz. that the Nabob Vizier ſhall, in his letters to this government, preſs the aſſiſtance of the Governor-general's abilies in forming new arrangements for the internal management of his country, and the aid of his perſonal and official influence to carry them into execution, and ſtate it as a meaſure abſolutely neceſſary to be adopted for the regulation of his finances, and the ſpeedy liquidation of his debt to the Company, connecting it alſo with the acceptance of the engagement preſcribed to him; and that the Governor general ſhall be of opinion, that his ſervices can be more effectual, and generally beneficial to the intereſts of the Company, by their being employed in that country, than in the arduous and important duties annexed to his ſtation at the preſidency.

Extract

Extract of the Secret Letter from Bengal; dated 16th February 1784.

Par. 10. We had the honour to inform you in our laſt advices, of a tender made on the 20th of laſt month, by the honourable the Governor-general, of his ſervices to proceed to Lucknow whenever he ſhould receive an expected invitation from the Nabob Vizier to that effect, for the purpoſe of regulating the Company's intereſts in the province of Oude, and affording the Nabob Vizier the like aſſiſtance for the regulation of his. Our reſolution was alſo communicated to you on the Governor-general's offer.—A ſtrong letter from his Excellency, and his miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn, has been lately received, and ſubmitted to us by the Governor-general, who has renewed the offer before made to us.—The Governor's minutes on this ſubject, and the papers accompanying them, are tranſmitted to you numbers in the packet, together with the minutes of the other members of the Board now here, to which we beg leave particularly to refer you, and by which it will appear, that we have veſted in the Governor-general the powers and authorities which he has deſired, to enable him to effect the purpoſes of his viſit to his Excellency the Vizier's dominions.

14th February 1784.

The Governor-general having this inſtant received letters from the Nabob Vizier, and his miniſter Hyder Beg Khaun, tranſlations of which accompany this minute; the Governor-general, in compliance with the preſſing invitations contained in theſe letters, now renews the tender of his ſervices in acceptance thereof, in the terms and for the purpoſes expreſſed in his minute of the 20th January.

The Governor-general alſo, relying on the Board's acquieſcence in the foregoing propoſal, ſince in the event which has happened it has already been in fact agreed to, and wiſhing to preclude all intermediate delay, ſubmits to the Board, for their approval, drafts of his public credentials, and of orders to be iſſued to the civil and military officers ſtationed behind the province of Bahar.

Not willing on ſo ſhort a notice to require the members of the Board to give themſelves the trouble of an immediate and formal meeting for the purpoſe of diſcuſſing the buſineſs of the preceeding queſtions, nor the occaſion requiring it for the reaſon already mentioned, the Governor-general has directed the ſecretary to attend them with theſe papers, and requeſts that they will

be

be pleaſed to deliver their opinions thereon in circulation.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

Received February 14th 1784.

From the Vizier to the Honourable Governor General.

Uſual Introduction.

Your gracious letters, which you honoured me with from paternal kindneſs, have arrived. In what language can I expreſs the favours and obligations you have conferred upon me? this country, my family, and myſelf, are all yours. Such obligations have bound me firmly in gratitude. I before reſted entirely on your pleaſure, but am now with heart and life attached to it, and will in no meaſure depart from it. From the favours conferred on me, your reputation will ſpread throughout all Indoſtan, for to the inhabitants of this country you have given new life.

My only deſire now is a meeting with yourſelf: from the ſame motive as you have already ſhewn me ſo many favours, I entreat you will travel this way, and confer proſperity on my family and country, which are the ſame as your own. Your preſence will be the cauſe of encreaſe of my reputation, regulation to my affairs, and ſettlement of the country, to the mutual advantage of our Sircars, as whatever plans you may adopt will remain permanent, and be a ſource of credit during our lives.

As I am now ardently employed in the direction of affairs, and the meaſures for paying the Company's demands, I have no leiſure, and am therefore excuſable, otherwiſe I ſhould come to viſit you. In the manner you have already favoured me, confer the obligation of coming here to complete my happineſs, as I am certain ſuch regulations will proceed from it, as ſhall not leave room for any one hereafter to find fault. I have performed the conditions ſignified by you through Major Palmer, for the ſatisfaction of the Company, which will be known to you from his letters.

Concludes as uſual.

A true Copy of the Tranſlation.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

Received February 14th 1784.

From Hyder Beg Khan to the Honourable Governor General.

Uſual Introduction.

How ſhall I expreſs the obligations you have conferred upon his Highneſs and his ſubjects in general, ſince human language is too weak? your fame will from them be ſpread throughout the world. His Highneſs is ſo obliged and grateful for your favours, as cannot be expreſſed; frequently ſaying, you have purchaſed him by generoſity. This will be fully known to you from the letters of Major Palmer.

The only deſire of his Highneſs now is, that you will, by coming here, beſtow proſperity on his affairs. From your preſence will ſpring ſtability to meaſures, and benefit of both Sirkars; as whatever you plan will remain firm for ever. I who am your ſervant, lifted from the duſt by your hand, have received new life from the favours conferred upon his Highneſs, and regard paying my reſpects to your Excellency as neceſſary to my exiſtence; but at this time your preſence here is moſt adviſable. The favours you have ſhewn can only be repaid by prayers for your proſperity. What was deſired for the ſatisfaction of the Company has been performed, and ſhall be obſerved in future. Every point will be known to you from the letters of Major Palmer.

Concludes as Uſual.

A true Copy of the Tranſlation.

E. Hay,
Secretary.

Governor General's Credentials.

Whereas it has been reſolved in Council, on the 31ſt December 1783, to withdraw the Reſidency at Lucknow, and to inveſt the Governor-general with a ſpecial and ſeparate charge of the Company's affairs and intereſts in the dominions of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, on certain conditions therein expreſſed, which have been ſince fulfilled; and whereas the Board have agreed on the invitation of the Nabob Vizier, and on a tender made by the Governor-general of his ſervices in the acceptance thereof, that the Governor-general ſhall proceed to Lucknow, for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the Nabob Vizier in the means of diſcharging his engagements to the Company, and the regulation of his government; it is hereby reſolved, That the Governor-general ſhall be and is inveſted with full power and authority to concert and adjuſt

juſt with the Nabob Vizier the means of diſcharging his engagements to the Company, of reſtoring and ſecuring the peace, ſafety, and order of his government, and of promoting the improvement of his revenue, and to ſupport the Nabob Vizier with the authority of this government, in as full and ample manner as we can empower him by an act of the parliament of Great Britain, or by any of the orders of the honourable the Court of Directors, and to take all ſuch meaſures as he the Governor-general ſhall think neceſſary for the accompliſhment of theſe ends: and for theſe purpoſes it is hereby agreed and reſolved, that the Governor-general ſhall be and is inveſted with the full power and authority of this government (ſo far as we can legally delegate the ſame) over all the officers, civil and military, ſtationed or reſiding within the dominions of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah, and the province of Benares; but reſtricted to the exerciſe thereof to the dominions of the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah and the province of Benares aforeſaid, and to the purpoſes above recited.

Given in Fort William, under the ſeal of the honourable Company, and under the hands of the Governor-general and Council, this day of in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-four.

A true Copy.

E. Hay,
Secretary.

14th February 1784.

The Governor General.

To obviate any miſconſtructions of the confidence with which I have long ſince mentioned my expectation, which is now arrived from the Nabob Vizier, I think it expedient to obſerve, that, independently of my intimate knowledge of the Nabob's general wiſh upon this ſubject, his particular deſire of a viſit from me at this time, and for the purpoſes of the actual occaſion, has been repeatedly ſignified to me in many private letters from Lucknow, both from Major Palmer and others, long before I made the firſt tender of my ſervices in accepting the invitation.

At the time that my letter, containing the notification of the reſolution of the Board, paſſed on the 31ſt of December, arrived at Lucknow, the Nabob Vizier had quitted his capital, and was on an excurſion of pleaſure at a diſtance of an hundred and ten miles from it. By a paper of intelligence, delivered to me by his Vakeel Rajah Govindram, and in the poſſeſſion of the ſecretary, I am informed,

formed, that ſuch was his impatience to return, that he performed the journey in ſeven parrs, or 21 hours, in a Palanquin, and arrived at Lucknow on the 2d inſtant without attendants.

For further proofs of the little ground which exiſted for the uſe of any indirect means to influence the Nabob in ſoliciting my preſence and aſſiſtance, I refer the Board to the accompanying letters, which I received the day before yeſterday from Major Palmer and Mr. Wombwell, neither intended moſt aſſuredly for public record, nor was it without heſitation that I was induced to inſert that of Mr. Wombwell. I could not deny myſelf the advantage of ſo ſtrong a teſtimony, both of the point in queſtion, and of the utter want of foundation for the aſſertion ſo often repeated by Mr. Briſtow, that the Nabob was himſelf indifferent to the tranſactions which formed the multiplied complaints againſt the Reſident, and that the whole were the fabrication of his miniſter without the participation of his will or inclination.

(Signed) W. HASTINGS.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

Letters from Major Palmer and Mr. Wombwell to the Governor General.

(Copy.)

Lucknow, 2d February 1784.

My dear Sir,

The Vizier arrived here yeſterday, after travelling a conſiderable part of his journey by poſt. Mr. Wombwell and I paid our reſpects to him this morning. After peruſing your letters, preſented to him by that gentleman, he entered into diſcourſe upon the different ſubjects of them, and gave the ſtrongeſt and moſt unequivocal proof how deeply he was penetrated with a ſenſe of your goodneſs, and the important benefits which you have obtained for him.—He earneſtly wiſhes to ſee you, to make his grateful acknowledgments in perſon, to requeſt your perſonal aſſiſtance in completing the generous work which you have begun, by eſtabliſhing the mutual intereſts and reputation of both governments upon the moſt ſolid foundations. To-morrow he will tell you ſo himſelf; and if his writing is ſo expreſſive and as forcible as his ſpeech and action, you will be convinced that there is no circumſtance in life can give him greater happineſs than to ſee you at his capital, and to prove his gratitude by an implicit and chearful acquieſcence in whatever meaſures you may recommend.

I am

I am greatly concerned that the fine ſeaſon for travelling will be nearly over before you can ſet out. The abſence of the Vizier has cauſed an unlucky delay. I thought your viſit a point of too much delicacy and importance to be ſettled whilſt he was at a diſtance, as it would have been impoſſible for me to have known his real ſentiments upon it; and I was determined to decline the invitation, if it ſhould appear to be made only as a compliment.

I requeſt, my dear Sir, that you will give me the information of your departure, that nothing may be wanting, either here or upon the road, for your accommodation. The Vizier has not yet intimated to Mr. Briſtow his permiſſion to depart, being deſirous to avoid every appearance for his removal, and Mr. Briſtow not having yet given in his accounts.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
My dear Sir,
Your moſt devoted and affectionate
humble Servant,

(Copy.) (Signed) W. PALMER.

Dear Sir,

The Nabob arrived laſt night; and this morning I had the honour of preſenting your letters to him. Major Palmer will acquaint you with the expreſſions of his gratitude. You were his friend, the brother of his father.

They were not loſt to me; for he acknowledged his obligations in tears.

Permit me to offer my congratulations to you on this happy event.

With the moſt ſincere reſpect,
I am, dear Sir,
Your very faithful and obedient ſervant,
(Signed) J. WOMBWELL.

The 2d February 1784,
Lucknow.

True Copies.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

Mr. Hastings's Arrival in Oude.

READ the following letter from Mr. Briſtow:

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that I this day received my audience of leave from his Highneſs the Nabob Vizier.

To anticipate calamity is an invidious and irkſome taſk; yet before I retire from the Court of Oude I am ſtrongly called upon by duty, and perhaps not ill qualified by experience, to ſuggeſt to the honourable Board the probable conſequences of my removal; it is the laſt important obligation of the truſt repoſed in me, and I ſhall acquit myſelf of it with fidelity.

Much as I lament the unproſperous iſſue of an enterprize, which in its ſucceſs would have been ſo honourable to me, my ſenſibility of it is unmixed with any painful conſciouſneſs. I have done my duty; and your applauſe, gentlemen, as it is the beſt teſtimony, is alſo the beſt reward of my laborious endeavours in the public ſervice.

Appointed to the arduous work of reformation, I found in Hyder Beg Cawn an antagoniſt of irreſiſtible ſtrength, over whom it was impoſſible I ſhould ſingly prevail; who in the extenſive influence derived from his wealth, in the univerſal terror inſpired by his authority, in the ſlaviſh ſubſerviency and more than puerile weakneſs of the prince his maſter, poſſeſſed a power of reſiſtance which I long ſince foreſaw, and long ſince foretold, would render equally vain the continued exerciſe of all my firmneſs, and every exertion of my underſtanding.

To reſtore the ſovereign to his dignity, to curb the ambition of his miniſter, to correct the diſorders and abuſes of his government, were the ſalutary and important objects of my deſignation at the court of Oude. Their accompliſhment would have eſtabliſhed the Engliſh influence over theſe once rich and flouriſhing provinces on a baſis of more ſtability than any we had yet owned, and intereſt in the hearts of the people, acquired and confirmed through the bleſſings they derived from us.

The triumphant oppoſition of Hyder Beg Cawn has defeated a purpoſe ſo full of wiſdom and humanity, but the attempt, I am well aſſured, has left an indeliable impreſſion of fear and hatred upon his mind. Delivered at laſt from the hateful preſence of your repreſentative, and inveſted with the virtual ſovereignty of the Vizier's domi-

dominions, all the activity, all the malevolence of his heart and underſtanding, will be called forth and exerted, to confirm his independance, and to gratify his revenge.

In the uniform experience of years, in the conſiſtent iniquity and miſmanagement of the miniſter, we find an elaborate inſtruction directing us with unerring certainty to the future fate of Oude, and our friends.

It is moſt foreign from my intention to arraign the wiſdom, or to diſpute the decrees of government; but I obey the dictates of truth and duty in declaring, that I cannot imagine a conjuncture of more imminent and apparent danger to the intereſt of my employers, or to the honour of my country; the firſt I conſider as inſeparably connected with the proſperity of Oude; the laſt will receive a mortal wound, ſhould thoſe be abandoned by us, who in their ſervices and attachment have a ſacred claim to our protection. From the exerciſe of deſpotic authority by ſuch a character as the miniſter, what indeed is to be hoped but the moſt heinous abuſe of it? From a reliance on the clemency of Hyder Beg Cawn, what milder doom, than death or confiſcation? ſuffer me, gentlemen, in the affirmance of the melancholy propriety of theſe reflections, to refer to your own opinions, to your own expreſſive language. I tranſcribe them from the inſtructions I received through the honourable the Governor-general, ſhortly after my appointment; delineating the former conduct of the miniſter with a truth and deciſion that will not be diſputed, they furniſh the moſt undeniable evidence of the peril of confiding in him, and render an appeal equally ſuperfluous and impertinent: I ſhall therefore paſs in ſilence over a thouſand ſuperadded examples, all ſtrongly characteriſtic of the principles and policy of Hyder Beg Cawn, which have occurred during the interval that has ſince elapſed, and which, like thoſe I am now about to lay before you, conſtitute a perpetual record of his contempt for your authority, of his inſolence, ambition, and rapacity.

" Immediately on your arrival, ſound the diſpoſition of Hyder Beg Cawn; his conduct has for ſome time paſt been highly reproachable. Till within theſe three months, when Mr. Johnſon aſſumed a large portion of his authority, he poſſeſſed, without controul, both the unparticipated and entire adminiſtration, with all the powers annexed to that government; the Nabob himſelf being, as he ever muſt be in the hands of ſome perſon, a mere cypher in his, and the ſanction by which he exerciſed his authority; yet he has dared both to uſe the Nabob's name, and even his ſeal, affixed to letters, either dictated

to the Nabob, or written from him without his knowledge, containing very improper demands on our government, and ſuch as evidently tended to promote Hyder Beg's influence and intereſt, and even to make him aſſume a very unbecoming tone of refuſal, reproach, and reſentment, in oppoſition to meaſures recommended by me, and even to acts done by my authority, in literal conformity to the Nabob's own and earneſt ſolicitations; ſuch as the reſumption of the Jaghires, and the ſeizure of his father's treaſures, which had been ſo long ſuffered to remain in the hands of the Begum his mother, and the other conditions of the engagement exacted from me at Chunar. On every occaſion of this kind the late Reſident has been the faithful echo and ſupport of the miniſter's pretenſions. I muſt therefore have recourſe to you for the introduction of a new ſyſtem in that government." —Again, "It may be adviſeable to try him (the miniſter) by the mode of conciliation in your firſt converſation with him; at the ſame time that it will be neceſſary to declare to him, in the plaineſt terms, the footing and conditions on which he ſhall be permitted to retain his place, with the alternative of diſmiſſion, and a ſcrutiny into his paſt conduct, if he refuſes it. In the firſt place, I will not receive from the Nabob, as his, letters dictated by the ſpirit of oppoſition, but ſhall conſider every ſuch attempt as the miniſter's, and as an inſult on our government. In the ſecond place, I ſhall expect that nothing is done in his official character, but with your knowledge and participation."—Again, ſpeaking of Almaſs Ally Cawn, "It is very extraordinary that his defection, his retreat to the frontier, the ſubſequent negociations which paſſed between him and the Nabob, the engagements concluded between them, which reſemble more a treaty between equal ſtates, than a tranſaction between a ſovereign and his vaſſal, have all paſſed without the leaſt communication or report of them made to me by the Reſident, or his aſſiſtant, or the miniſter; and in a letter which I have lately received from the Nabob, the miniſter has had the preſumption to make the Nabob declare the whole to be falſe, and without foundation; and to affirm that every part of his dominions enjoys the moſt perfect peace and tranquillity. Upon this ſubject the behaviour of the miniſter is ſo reprehenſible, that I think it incumbent upon me to let him know my ſentiments of it. It will at leaſt ſhew him how thin the veil is by which he covers his own acts; and that ſuch artifices will only tend to make them the more criminal, from the falſehood and duplicity with which they are aſſociated. As for Almaſs Ally Cawn himſelf, the policy which has been

been obſerved towards him has been ſcandalouſly derogatory from the Nabob's dignity and intereſts, and hurtful to the repreſentation of our government, ſo far as it is connected, or the world will think it connected, with it." —Laſtly, "The Nabob has repeatedly and bitterly complained of the indignity which he ſuffers in his authority, by the uſurpation of the Company's Reſident; and as repeatedly demanded, that whenever the Company's balance ſhall be completely diſcharged he may be freed from this vexation; that he may be permitted to pay the ſubſidy in ready money; and that the aſſignments which have been granted to ſatisfy that demand may be reſtored to him. I confeſs that I did myſelf give encouragement to this propoſition, knowing at the ſame time the quarter from whence it came, I mean from Hyder Beg Cawn; and, willing to exonerate this government from the trouble and reſponſibility, and the Company from the diſgrace of whatever might attend the adminiſtration of the Nabob's government, I thought too that it preſented a ſure proſpect of the regular payment of the current demands, by the penalty which would attend the failure, in the reſumption of the former ſyſtem of aſſignments, and in the perſonal claims which it would bring on the miniſter. But his miſconduct has ſince manifeſted itſelf in ſo many particular inſtances, beſides the univerſal diſorder of the country, and this is ſo alarming in its effects to our government, that I ſhall heſitate, until I have the ſureſt and moſt ſatisfactory grounds to recommend an acquieſcence in ſuch a meaſure. At preſent, the plea on which it is grounded is probably yet at ſome diſtance; for whilſt I am writing theſe inſtructions, freſh circumſtances occur to my knowledge, which make me much ſuſpect the real payment of the ſums brought to the Nabob's credit for the laſt year's balance. It may not, however, be amiſs to talk with the miniſter on this ſubject, to let him know that it is well underſtood to be a demand for ſubſtituting his authority in the place of the Company's, and to inveſt him with the ſovereignty of the Nabob's dominions; to aſk him, whether he ſhall in ſuch caſe expect the Company's protection? and if he does, by what claim of right? and whether, in the event of his involving our government in a new ſcene of hoſtilities by thoſe which his mal-adminiſtration may produce, whether internally or by invaſion in that country, he ſhall think himſelf in juſtice exempt from the perſonal vengeance which we may be diſpoſed to exact from him? At all events, the propoſition muſt be diſcouraged till a ſafer ſeaſon for its acceptance;

ceptance; but the abſolute rejection of it eluded with the Nabob, if he ſhall himſelf renew it."

I have the honour, &c.

Lucknow, 8th Febry. 1784. (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

To the Honourable Court of Directors of the Honourable United Eaſt India Company.

Lucknow, 30th April 1784.

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE judged it incumbent on me to make trial of every practicable chance of conveying to you the earlieſt intelligence of my arrival at the place from which this letter is dated, and of the firſt effects produced by the accommodation which took place by the reſolution of the Governor-general and council, paſſed on the 31ſt of December laſt, and already notified to you by the ſucceſſive diſpatches of your ſhips. I ſhall begin the thread of my report from that date. I ſoon after found that the ſtate of this country was ſo diſordered in its revenue and adminiſtration, and the credit and influence of the Nabob himſelf ſo much ſhaken by the effects of the late uſurpation of his authority, and the conteſt which attended it, as to require the acceſſion of an extraneous aid to reſtore the powers and conſtitution of his government; and I was ſtrongly and repeatedly urged to repair hither in perſon for that purpoſe.

Theſe inſtances, though declared to be conformable to the wiſhes of the Nabob Vizier, his family and miniſters, having been privately conveyed to me, I repreſented them as ſuch to the Board on the 20th of January; and offered my ſervices to go to Lucknow whenever the Nabob Vizier ſhould require it, which I knew, from undoubted authority, he would, with his anſwer to the notification formally made to him of the reſolution of the 31ſt of December.

My reaſons for thus anticipating the occaſion were many—the diſtracted ſtate of the affairs, which every ſuſpenſion of a day would aggravate; the ſeaſon of the collections requiring the application of early exertions for their ſecurity; and my own infirm ſtate of health, which was not equal to ſuſtain ſo long a journey, if protracted to the commencement of the hot winds.

My offer was accepted, by a conditional declaration on the part of Mr. Wheler, and I made inſtant preparations for the journey.

On the 14th of February the Nabob's invitation arrived. I repeated my propoſal; the ſame authority decided its acceptance;

acceptance; and on the 17th I took my leave of the Board, and departed from Calcutta with a ſevere indiſpoſition, which had ſeized me ſome time preceding, then hanging on me. Happily the change of air effected my ſpeedy cure; and on the 27th ultimo I arrived at this place, in a ſtate of health ſo confirmed, as to promiſe an unremitted attention to the very important objects of my commiſſion.

On my way, I had the alarming perſpective of a ſoil ſo compleatly exhauſted of its natural moiſture by the failure of one entire ſeaſon of the periodical rains, that except the fields of grain that had been kept in vegetation by the uncommon labour of the huſbandman, and were ſtill cloathed with a luxuriant produce, or that retained the ſtubble of the recent harveſt, the plains exhibited an appearance of barrenneſs ſo dreary, that even the roots of its former herbage no longer exiſted, and the deep ravines and beds of rivers, which I paſſed, threw up clouds of duſt from their channels. Theſe are not circumſtances of trivial obſervation, nor are they confined to the lands of theſe provinces. Every region of Hindoſtan has felt the ſame angry viſitation, and another year of equal drought (which is not to be expected in the courſe of natural events) would put it out of the reach of human wiſdom to prevent or retrieve the dreadful calamity which muſt attend it.

Yet ſuch is my reliance on the gratitude and unbounded confidence of the Nabob and his miniſters, that I dare promiſe, even at this immature period, under every circumſtance but the dreadful one which I have above ſuppoſed, and which I have ſtated as improbable, a ſucceſsful progreſs and termination of the meaſures which I have begun, equal to any expectations which may have been formed of it, however ſanguine, if I am not counteracted, and my operations impeded, by orders which I may not reſiſt, and am allowed to remain to the time deſtined for their perfection—nor ſhall it be a common obſtruction which ſhall reſtrain me; for I poſſeſs ſuch inherent advantages as, I truſt, will prove ſuperior to every ſpecies of oppoſition, but the laſt extremity of it. Indeed, if ſuch ſprings as give the common movements to popular opinion could influence my proceedings, I have already experienced ſuch in two inſtances, one of which I believe to have had the ſpecial ſervice in which I am engaged for its object, and the other the general ruin of my authority.

I allude, firſt, to a report fabricated at Fort St. George, of the arrival of a ſhip of war at Bombay, with the authentic intelligence of my diſmiſſion with diſgrace from my office, which I received at the inſtant that I was ſetting

my

my foot on the ſhore at Nuddeah, for the commencement of my journey; and ſecondly, to a paper tranſmitted to me by a reſpected authority from Calcutta, containing ſtrictures on my former deputation, ſaid to be a part of a report of the Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons, which unhappily apply to every purpoſe of this, and which declare (with horror I repeat it) a right inveſted in the Commander in Chief of the army to oppoſe the power delegated by the government itſelf to its firſt executive member, and to aſſert that right by an appeal to the army for its ultimate deciſion upon it. The words of the report, if it be ſuch, to which I allude, are theſe:

"By theſe inſtructions it appears, that the Governor-"general was poſitively reſtrained from the exerciſe of "any military power whatſoever beyond the garriſon and "fortreſs of Fort William; ſo that the delegation and "exerciſe of all military power and authority, beyond "the limits ſo deſcribed, was a direct and poſitive diſ-"obedience of the orders of the Court of Directors.

"Diſobedience of orders on a point ſo delicate and "important as that of wreſting the military command "from the official military officer, who was inveſted with "that authority by the orders of the Directors, might "have been productive of conſequences extremely pre-"judicial to the ſervice: if the Commander in Chief had "aſſerted the right inveſted in himſelf, a contention for "executive power might have been the conſequence; "and the army, which in India is ſo peculiarly conſti-"tuted as to require not only exact diſcipline, but the "moſt perfect ſubordination, in order to enſure obedi-"ence, muſt have ultimately decided where that obedience "was due."

I dare not examine a doctrine affirmed to be of ſo ſacred an authority; yet I may humbly ſuggeſt that it never was, nor never could have been intended to be applied to the actual commander in chief, whoſe command was originally conſtituted by the Governor-general and Council themſelves, and therefore could not be rendered ſuperior to, and independent of, the powers veſted in the Governor-general and Council by an act of parliament paſſed before its exiſtence, nor included in any inſtructions of the Court of Directors, alſo framed at a more ancient period, if even at a later; and a ſenſe of national duty ſuperior to every conſideration of perſonal ſafety, or the reference which is due to high office, impels me to denounce, and to date the fall of the Britiſh empire in India from the inſtant that it ſhall be decidedly declared or underſtood that any commander in chief of the army, be his title or rank what it will, is, or may be, by any conſtructive power,

power, independant of the government under which the wiſdom of parliament hath hitherto placed the army ſerving in theſe provinces, and every member of it, in an implicit and abſolute ſubjection to its authority.

God forbid that any future Pizarros and Almagros ſhould diſgrace the annals of your dominion, or mark the traces of its decline with the blood of your ſervants and ſoldiers—but the conteſt will probably be of ſhort duration; and happy will it be for the intereſts of humanity, if ſuch ſhall be the iſſue, though dreadful to our own, whatever period of time may cloſe it!

Let me add, nor let my words be uttered in vain, that whenever the fatal blow ſhall be ſtruck, or from whatever hand it ſhall proceed, its effect will be not a gradual decay, but an inſtantaneous ruin; for your exiſtence hangs on the thread of opinion, which the touch of chance may break; and even that ſource, which ought to flow with the principles of its duration, will, if productive of the ſame deleterious ſtreams which have been lately ſeen to iſſue from it, prove the cauſe of its diſſolution.

I am not myſelf apprehenſive of any evil conſequence of the partial and limited command which I poſſeſs over your army, in its tendency to provoke a competition; for in the firſt place, I will never put it to the iſſue of a trial; and in the ſecond, were the Board to permit the Commander in Chief to come into this quarter, which is not likely, I confidently hope that before he could arrive, this province will have been ſo regulated as not to require any foreign aid for its internal protection, nor of courſe any exerciſe of the powers which I poſſeſs, and which he might deem himſelf warranted to reſiſt.

I proceed to report the effects which have been produced to this time from the late accommodation, and the objects to which I look for the final iſſue of it.

Before my departure from Calcutta, I applied through a private channel to the acting miniſter to advance an immediate ſupply of money to your Paymaſter-general at Lucknow for the ſubſiſtence of the troops ſtationed in theſe provinces, who were then many months in arrears, and ſuffered much additional diſtreſs from the ſcarcity and dearneſs of grain. He inſtantly raiſed the ſum of ten lacks of rupees, which proved a critical and effectual relief. Since my arrival he has made other payments to a conſiderable amount. Theſe are particularized in the encloſed account *, No. 1, in which I have included, for your

* *The accounts alluded to in this and the next paragraph were, in the hurry of the Governor's departure from Lucknow, miſſaid,*

your early information, all the payments made in liquidation of the honourable Company's debt in the courſe of the preſent Fuſſulee year, to which all accounts of the revenue are by old cuſtom adjuſted, and commences on the 11th of September, to the preſent time.

To this I have joined another account, No. 2, ſtating the probable claims of the Company upon the Nabob Vizier, from the beginning of the preſent to the end of the next Fuſſulee year, or to the 10th September 1785.

On both theſe accounts I ſhall offer a few neceſſary remarks.—Firſt on No. 1. The 1ſt ſum of 16 lacks of rupees, ſtated as the account of Mr. Briſtow's receipts, is taken from his own account in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Wombwell, the Accomptant for this ſtation, but differs materially from that which has been drawn by the Nabob's officers; and I referred it to the Board for adjuſtment with Mr. Briſtow, who alone can explain the difference.

The ſecond article is the regular produce of the current revenue.—I was early careful to guard the miniſter againſt the uſe of violent meaſures, to anticipate the period of collection for the purpoſe of giving an oſtenſible credit to the preſent ſyſtem, by ſwelling the amount of the payments made in conſequence of it; although the exigencies of your ſtate induced me to preſs him to contribute what he could for your relief, without adding to the diſtreſſes of his own, for the country will not bear it.

The 3d article was obtained by my own ſuggeſtion from Almaſs Ally Cawn, who complied cheerfully and without heſitation, conſidering it as an evidence ſeaſonably offered for the general refutation of the charges of perfidy and diſloyalty, which have been ſo laborioufly urged againſt him, and carried at one time to an exceſs which had nearly driven him to abandon the country for the preſervation of his life and honour, and thus to give a colour to the charges themſelves.

It will ſcarce merit your attention to be informed that I have inveſted a part of this ſupply in bills of exchange payable to the Governor-general and Council in Calcutta, to the amount of 5 lacks of Calcutta Siccas, but as it is connected with an arrangement which may prove of future advantage to your intereſts in the reduction of the Hoondyan, or exchange, from 16 per cent. to 5½, at which it is my determination to fix it.

miſlaid, and no copies of them are to be procured. It is hoped, however, that this accident will be excuſed, as the ſtatements here alluded to have been comprehended in accounts of later date.

I have

I have recommended to the Board to appropriate the whole of this article as a fund for the payment of the intereſt of your bonds, which had ſuffered ſomething in its credit and current value from the ſuſpenſion of the payment of intereſt ſome months before I left Calcutta.

The laſt article is the balance of the ſum due from Fyze Oola Cawn, by a treaty made between him and the Nabob Vizier, through the agency of Major Palmer, on the 15th February 1783. Two lacks of this amount are now in regular courſe of payment, the remaining three are not due by ſtipulation till the next ſeaſon, called Kherief, which is a period included between the middle of September and the middle of February. Some days after my arrival, I intimated to his Vackeel my wiſh to have both payments immediately concluded; and his maſter gave immediate orders for it.

To this inſtance of reſpect to your government he has added another, in the deputation of his ſon to Lucknow, to confirm the aſſurance of his attachment to the Company and Britiſh nation.

What further ſums may be realized in the courſe of this year, of which the productive part is already paſt, I cannot ſay; but it is my hope that a conſiderable part of the Nabob's debt will be liquidated, and the diſcharge of the remaining enſued by the engagements of creditable bankers, ſo that it may be wholly cleared within the courſe of the enſuing year.

The account, No. 2, is an eſtimate formed on the actual expence, but will be conſiderably reduced if my future proſpects and objects ſhall be anſwerable to my preſent expectations: to them I proceed.

1ſt. My firſt wiſh is to realize the amount of your demand on the Nabob of Owde, to the end of the next Fuſſulee year, and to obtain ample ſecurities for it before I depart from hence.

2. My next care will be to induce the Nabob's miniſters to appoint bodies of regular troops, for the ſupport of his collections, and the internal defence of his country. This will preclude the neceſſity of calling for the aid of our troops, and I hope may prove the means of releaſing him from the extraordinary and undefined ſubſidy, which he now pays for the great detachment employed under the command of Colonel Sir John Cumming, in Rohilcund, and the regiments which have been occaſionally demanded and remain ſcattered over other parts of his dominions, and of confining our defence, and the Nabob Vizier's payments, to the brigade ſtationed at Cawnpore, and to the ſubſidy fixed by the treaty for its expence.

3dly.

3dly. My laſt and ultimate hope is, that when theſe objects are attained, your wiſdom will put a final period to the ruinous and diſreputable ſyſtem of interference, whether avowed or ſecret, in the affairs of the Nabob of Owde, and withdraw for ever the influence by which it was maintained.

This country has no inlets of trade by which it can ſupply the iſſues which are made from it; for, excepting the factory at Tonda, which ſubſiſts by a contract making part of your inveſtment, and the produce of opium and ſalt-petre, which is not conſiderable, I do not know any other article of commerce from which it could derive any returns; therefore every rupee which is drawn from its circulation into your treaſury will accelerate the period at which its ability muſt ceaſe to pay even the ſtipulated ſubſidy. By the continuance of this fund, you maintain an acceſſion of more than one half to the military eſtabliſhment required for the defence of your dominions, without any charge on your own income, and you oppoſe a wide and powerful frontier to your eventual enemies.

That force will continue to be an effectual ſafeguard to the country, which will ſuffer nothing by its maintenance, becauſe the ſpecie thus applied will of courſe flow back into its circulation; and it is a tribute which it ought gladly to pay, for its whole wealth would not in any other way yield an adequate mode of protection.

Few are the advocates of the national intereſts, and their voice will be faintly heard amid the numerous and loud exclamations of private rapacity; but I humbly aſſume to rank myſelf with the former, and to aſſure you that if you ſeek for a permanent and profitable ſyſtem of connection with this country, you muſt confine your claims upon it to the line which I have recommended; if you tranſgreſs it you may extend the diſtribution of patronage, and add, by the fortune of individuals, to the nominal riches of Great Britain; but your own intereſt will ſuffer by it, and the ruin of a great and once-flouriſhing nation will be recorded as the work of your adminiſtration, with an everlaſting reproach on the Britiſh name.

To this reaſoning I ſhall join the obligations of juſtice and good faith, which cut off every pretext for your exerciſing any power or authority in this country, while the ſovereign of it fulfils the engagements which have been contracted with you.

I have the honour to be, &c.

honourable Sirs,

yours, &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Mr.

Mr. Hastings's Settlement of Oude in 1784.

To the Honourable Court of Directors of the Honourable United East India Company.

Benares, 1st October 1784.

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE the honour to send you a duplicate of my last address, and a copy of a letter to the Council, dated the 20th of September last, containing the report of my proceeding, and of the state of your claims on the Nabob Vizier to that period, being within three days of the close of the Fusselee year: this is so full as to render any further information on that subject unnecessary. The Nabob Vizier is so sensible of the just and disinterested conduct which I have observed towards him, and possesses, if I may credit appearances amounting to the strongest evidence of which such a conclusion is capable, so entire a confidence in my intentions respecting his concerns with the Company, that I have on my part an equal reliance on his steady support of the arrangements which have been formed under my inspection, both for the administration of his revenue, and the discharge of his debt to the honourable Company depending on it. He has given me the firmest assurances of this, and I have every reason to expect that the influence of the most respectable persons of his family will be employed to counteract every other which may tend to warp him from it. I am sorry to say, that such an assistance was wanting; as the Nabob, tho' most gentle in his manners, and endowed with an understanding much above the common level, has been unfortunately bred up to habits that draw his attention too much from the care of his own affairs, and often subject him to the guidance of insidious and unworthy confidants. This is one motive of my intention of making a longer stay at Benares than is necessary for the settlement of this Zemindary, which is already nearly concluded, that I may be at hand to counteract any attempt to defeat the effect of my proceedings at Lucknow: but I believe that the precaution, though dictated by prudence, will prove unnecessary.

My only remaining fear is, that the members of the Council, seeing affairs through a different medium from that through which I view them, may be disposed, if not to counteract the system which I have formed, to withhold from it their countenance and active support. While I myself remain, it will be sufficient if they permit it to operate without interruption; and I almost hope that

in the event of a new adminiſtration of your affairs, which ſhall confine itſelf to the ſame forbearance, and manifeſt no ſymptoms of intended interference, the objects of my arrangements will be effectually attained; for I leave them in the charge of agents whoſe intereſts, ambition, and every proſpect of life, are interwoven with their ſucceſs, and the hand of Heaven has viſibly bleſſed the ſoil with every elementary ſource of progreſſive vegetation. But if a different policy ſhall be adopted; if new agents are ſent into the country, and armed with authority for the purpoſes of vengeance and corruption, for to no other will they be applied; if new demands are raiſed on the Nabob Vizier, and accounts overcharged on one ſide, with a wide latitude taken on the other, to ſwell his debt beyond the means of payment; if political dangers are portended, to ground on them the pleas for burthening his country with unneceſſary defences and enormous ſubſidies; or if, even abſtaining from direct encroachment on the Nabob's rights, your government ſhall ſhew but a degree of perſonal kindneſs to the partizans of the late uſurpation, or by any conſtructive indication of partiality and diſaffection furniſh grounds for the expectation of an approaching change of ſyſtem;—I am ſorry to ſay, that all my labours will prove abortive; for the ſlighteſt cauſes will be ſufficient to deject minds ſore with the remembrance of paſt conflicts, and to elevate thoſe whoſe only dependance is placed in the renewal of the confuſion which I have laboured with ſuch zeal to eradicate, and will of courſe debilitate the authority which can alone enſure future ſucceſs. I almoſt fear that this denunciation of effects, from cauſes ſo incompetent as they will appear to thoſe who have not had the experience which I have had of the quick ſenſibility which influences the habits of men placed in a ſtate of polity ſo looſe, and ſubject to the continual variations of capricious and deſpotic authority, will be deemed overcharged, or perhaps void of foundation; nor, if they ſhould come to paſs, will it be eaſy to trace them with any poſitive evidence to their connection; yet it is my duty to apprize you of what I apprehend, on the grounds which I deem of abſolute certainty, may come to paſs, and I rely on your candour for a fair interpretation of my intention.

It is not quite foreign from this doctrine, as it will be highly acceptable to your honourable Court to be informed, that during my reſidence (and I may take the date further back, to the expectation of it at Lucknow) the moſt perfect tranquillity prevailed, and it ſtill ſubſiſts in every part of the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, a circumſtance unexampled in the annals of that government,

ment, either in any former period, or during that in which our influence has been blended with its own conſtitution; and this I attribute excluſively to the prevalency of opinion, or, to apply the general maxim, to the univerſal conviction of a power and a diſpoſition actually exiſting, the one equal to the ſuppreſſion of any movement of ſedition, and the other determined to the puniſhment of it: nor has my time been unprofitably beſtowed, even in the long interval in which I was obliged to wait for the firſt appearance of the rainy ſeaſon, before I could ſee the beginning of the new ſettlement. It afforded leiſure for the conſtitutional adminiſtration of the country to recover its authority; it impreſſed the minds of all men, that the government which I repreſented was determined to render it permanent; and it enabled me to eſtabliſh my own influence and aſcendant over the minds of the Nabob, his miniſters, and his people, on the grounds of their confidence in me. This was an eaſy line, for it required nothing to be done, nothing but forbearance: I daily conferred with the miniſters, I received their reports, I gave my advice; but I left every thing wholly to their management. I aſſumed no appearance of command, I exerciſed none, not even in private; I iſſued not a ſingle warrant, nor ſuffered any individual of my dependants to uſe my name, even in the common Bazar, with any privilege diſtinct from the rights of any other inhabitant. The Nabob met me on the border of his territory, our troops and baggage were intermixed on the road, and our camps often joined: I and my people, who were numerous, with a large ſociety of Engliſh gentlemen, which was unavoidable, lived in the ſame city five months, and of that time within the ſame common encloſure of the Nabob's palace; nor in all that time did a ſingle accident happen from ſuch a mixture of ſociety to diſturb its peace, or to create miſunderſtanding between either the principals or parties of either, but they continued united with the ſame harmony that exiſts between the members of a private family: nor, whether in public or private, though occaſions of great delicacy often occurred, did a word ever paſs in converſation between the Nabob and myſelf inconſiſtent with the ſtricteſt amity and mutual good humour. I hope this will not have the air of ſelf-commendation.—My behaviour was regulated by a preconcerted policy, the Nabob's by a natural benevolence and pliancy of temper, joined to perſuaſion that I merited more that an ordinary return of kindneſs from him, which left my part very eaſy, and will, I truſt, ſtill continue to operate for the common benefit of his intereſt, and yours, whatever may be my lot; for I have promiſed

that I will not abandon him to the chance of another mode of relation, and moſt confidently given him aſſurances of your ratification and confirmation of that which I have eſtabliſhed between his government and the Company.

I hope I ſhall be pardoned for repeating a remark, which I have already made in my letter to the Council (for it ought to be known and remembered) that I have provided for the complete diſcharge, in one year, of a debt contracted by the accumulation of many, and from a country whoſe reſources have been waſted and diſſipated by three ſucceſſive years of drought, and one of anarchy.

The recovery of ſo large a part of your property will alſo afford a ſeaſonable and ſubſtantial relief to the neceſſities of your government, and enable it, for ſuch is my confidential hope, to begin upon the reduction of your debt at intereſt before the concluſion of this year, I mean the year of our own computation.

Whatever may be the event of this tranſaction, I cannot conclude the report of it without teſtifying my acknowledgment of the very uſeful aſſiſtance which I have received from the official ſkill and abilities of Mr. David Anderſon. His reputation, which has been eſtabliſhed on the merits of much more important ſervices, will receive little addition from this tribute paid to it; yet the circumſtances under which they were yielded on this occaſion would not allow me to ſuppreſs it, as he had formed the reſolution of reſigning the ſervice for the recovery of a very declining health, and had actually beſpoke his paſſage on one of your homeward-bound ſhips, when his friendſhip and public zeal induced him to remain, at my ſolicitation, and to accompany me on this deputation. As I have occaſionally mentioned the number of gentlemen which compoſed my family, I have a pride and pleaſure in adding, that they all contributed, by the correctneſs of their manners, and conciliating behaviour, to maintain that familiar and cordial intercourſe which I have already deſcribed to have ſubſiſted between the Nabob and myſelf, and to leave a laſting and favourable impreſſion of the Britiſh character with his ſubjects.

For the reſt I beg leave to refer to my letter to the Board; and am, with the moſt reſpectful and dutiful attachment.

Honourable Sirs,
your moſt obedient,
and moſt humble ſervant,
WARREN HASTINGS.

After Mr. Hastings's Return to Oude in 1785.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 13th January 1785.

THE following minute having been written ſome time ſince, and communicated privately to the members of the Board, the Governor-general deſires that it may be entered on the minutes of the 4th inſtant, as well as on theſe, that being the day on which it underwent their inſpection.

Agreed to, and ordered that the ſecretary do enter the ſame accordingly.

The Governor-general. 4th January 1785.

The period is now arrived in which I muſt either verify the declaration which I have made and repeated to the Court of Directors, of my intention to relinquiſh the ſervice, or ſuſpend the execution of it, if compelled to it on the grounds of ſuperior obligation. Theſe I ſhall now ſtate, and ſubmit my deſtiny to the juſtice and generoſity of my colleagues in the adminiſtration. In making this appeal, I ſhould be ſorry to have it aſcribed to any diſtruſt in the iſſue, having evinced the contrary by making the declaration to which I have above alluded, without any ſuch reſerve or qualification, but I do it in performance of a ſolemn engagement, and with a conviction, that the ſecurity of a valuable portion of the Company's immediate and pecuniary intereſts indiſpenſably require it.

The Board will permit me to remind them, that on the 31ſt December 1783, they paſſed an unanimous reſolution, agreeing and declaring, that "the offer made by the "Nabob Vizier, and his miniſter, to give the ſecurity "of bankers of known credit and reſponſibility for the "payment of the balance due to the Company, and for "the current demands of that year, ſhould be accepted, "with the condition annexed, of the recall of Mr. "Briſtow and Mr. Cowper, the Governor-general conſenting to be ſpecially anſwerable for the propriety of "the meaſure;" and that in conſequence of the Board's having agreed that the Governor-general ſhould proceed to Lucknow, for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the Nabob Vizier in the means of diſcharging his engagements to the Company, and the regulation of his government, they, on the 17th February laſt, reſolved, "That the Gover-"nor-general ſhould be, and he was thereby inveſted "with full power and authority to concert and adjuſt,

" with the Nabob Vizier, the means of diſcharging his " engagements to the Company; of reſtoring and ſe- " curing the peace, ſafety, and order of his government; " and of promoting the improvement of his revenue; " and to ſupport the Nabob Vizier with the authority of " this government, in as full and ample manner as the " Board could empower him by any act of parliament of " Great Britain, or by any of the orders of the honour- " able Court of Directors; and to take all ſuch meaſures " as he ſhould think neceſſary for the accompliſhment of " theſe ends."

I undertook the ſervice at a time, and under circumſtances, which to a mind liable to deſpond, would have ſuggeſted inſurmountable difficulties: theſe I have minutely ſtated in my correſpondence with the Board; and my late report of the 20th September ſtates in what manner I have executed the truſt which I had undertaken.

The engagements which I have obtained from the Nabob Vizier ceaſe with the cloſe of the next Fuſſile year, or in September next, but his means of fulfilling them depend upon the uncharged and unmoleſted ſubſiſtance of many internal arrangements, which are mutually connected in a ſeries of five years from their formation, and *that* on the abſolute forbearance of this government, from all preſent interference in his authority, and eſpecially in the controul and adminiſtration of his revenues.

When I was on the eve of parting from him, I deemed it conſiſtent with the ſincerity of my own character, and neceſſary to prevent the conſequences of too abrupt an information, whenever he might receive it, of the apparent deprivation of my ſupport, to acquaint him with the probable approach of my removal from the ſervice, and at the ſame time I promiſed him that I would on no account make it my own act, without previouſly obtaining from the Board their promiſe of an entire and punctual adherence to the engagements which I had made with him on my own part individually, and on the behalf of the Board, in virtue of their exiſting engagements with me, which are contained in the reſolution to which I have appealed in the introduction of this minute. The ſame aſſurance I gave alſo to his miniſters. I ſoon after departed, leaving my ſecretary, Major Palmer, as my perſonal repreſentative and agent with the Nabob Vizier, both for the encouragement of the Nabob and his miniſters, and for the means of urging them to the faithful diſcharge of their ſtipulated payments, and Mr. Wombwell, the proper officer, in charge of the receipts.

In conformity to the above engagements, I now make it my earneſt requeſt to the Board, that they will be

pleaſed

pleaſed to record their reſolution to abide by the arrangements which I have made, and to notify the ſame for the ſatisfaction and aſſurance of the Nabob Vizier, and his miniſters, by an official letter to the Nabob Vizier from my eventual ſucceſſor, with a promiſe that no deviation ſhall be made from the ſaid arrangements, nor any perſon deputed to reſide at his court, but at his own ſpontaneous inclination, or any authority exerciſed within the limits of his dominion, by the appointment or permiſſion of the Board, except ſuch as ſhall be required by the Nabob himſelf, from the military officers ſtationed for his defence, and the protection of his country, until the concluſion of the preſent Fuſſulie year, or until the orders of the Court of Directors ſhall be received, in conſequence of the references which have been made to them, if ſuch orders ſhall either enjoin or authorize a different conduct.

I preſume that this requiſition is conſonant with the ſtrictneſs of legal propriety, as the firſt delegation of the truſt made to me in December laſt extends in its full force, as a reciprocal obligation, to the period which I have preſcribed; and as the act of a majority of the Board, which followed it from its legal obligation, on the whole neceſſarily includes and involves every engagement contracted under it and conformable to it, with the ſame force of an equal and permanent obligation.

Before I conclude, I deſire to obviate every poſſible miſconception of my object in the requiſition which I have made. I do not deſire the Board, nor the members of it, individually, to approve what I have done; I only deſire them to ratify what I have done under a conſtitutional and legal authority, by their conſtitutional and legal acquieſcence and confirmation of it; knowing that without it the Nabob Vizier, and his miniſters, who are ignorant of the powers of the Board, and of the principles which give ſtability to its decided acts, will conclude that all the engagements contracted with them, by the only oſtenſible member of our government with whom by the forms of it they are connected, will be diſſolved on his removal from it: I make the propoſal with an anxiety natural to the importance of its iſſue, in the hope that it will prove the laſt act of my public life, and the laſt teſt which I ſhall exact from the Board of that ſpirit of mutual conciliation which no difference of opinion has yet been able wholly to extinguiſh, and which it is my moſt earneſt wiſh to preſerve, whether we are to be ſtill longer united in the ſame ſervice, or whether we are to part, in our public capacities, for ever.

The following minute is delivered by Mr. Macpherſon and Mr. Stables:

We have conſidered the very important and ſolemn propoſition which the Governor-general has made to the Board: the very earneſt manner in which he has called upon us, as his colleagues in the adminiſtration, and the great anxiety which he has expreſſed for the iſſue of our determination, oblige us to confine our ſentiments, on the preſent occaſion, to a cloſe and explicit anſwer to the queſtion which he has been pleaſed to propoſe.

The queſtion itſelf, as a propoſition for our adoption, is ſtated in full and clear terms; nor need we repeat the words. Is is a propoſition founded upon ſpecific acts of this government which have already taken place, and, as members of the government, we have already committed our ſanction in its favour, by thoſe legal obligations which bind every member of the adminiſtration to the acts of a decided majority, and that conſtitutional acquieſcence in the arrangements concluded between the Governor-general and the Nabob Vizier and his miniſters, and to which our ratification is required, in the liberal principle which the Governor-general has ſpecified.

We are ſenſible of the juſt and public grounds upon which it is proper and neceſſary that the Nabob Vizier ſhould be aſſured that arrangements concluded with him for the diſcharge of his debt to the Company, and the future regulation and encreaſe of his revenues, ſhould remain permanent and and binding upon the Company's repreſentatives, independent of the continuance in office of the Governor-general for the time, who had the delegated powers of the government to conclude thoſe arrangements; we are therefore willing and ready to adopt the mode which the Governor-general has propoſed for relieving the mind of the Vizier, as well as his miniſters, from all apprehenſion or uneaſineſs upon this ſubject.

We are confident, at the ſame time, that the Governor-general will, of his own accord, uſe his utmoſt influence to convince the Vizier and his miniſters of the neceſſity of a punctual performance of their engagements, ſo as to preclude this government from all interference in the controul and adminiſtration of his Excellency's revenues. Having acceded in ſo explicit a manner to the Governor-general's propoſal, and having pledged our ſupport of arrangements, for the ſucceſsful iſſue of which to the public, it is natural for the Governor-general to carry an anxiety beyond the period he may wiſh to preſcribe to his own adminiſtration in this country, we further beg leave to aſſure him, that whether we are to be longer

united

united with him in the public ſervice, or are ſoon to ſeparate, it is our earneſt wiſh to preſerve unextinguiſhed, and improve, that ſpirit of conciliation which is equally dictated by our own ſenſe of public duty and our perſonal reſpect for the Governor-general.

(Signed) { JOHN MACPHERSON.
JOHN STABLES.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 14*th January* 1785.

THE Governor-general requeſts the deciſion of the Board on a propoſition which he ſome time ſince ſubmitted to their conſideration; namely, that if it ſhall be their reſolution, on the arrival of the Fox, which it has been ſuppoſed may contain ſome orders reſpecting the force to be kept up in the provinces dependent on the Nabob of Owde, to retain the detachment now commanded by Colonel Sir John Cummings in its preſent ſtation at Futty Ghur, or in any other part of the Nabob's dominions, the payment of its expences be not demanded from the Nabob Vizier during the courſe of this year, but the ſubject be generally referred to the honourable Court of Directors, and a due time allowed for their anſwer and deciſion thereon to be received, for the regulation of that claim. The Governor-general is the more anxious to receive the determination of the Board on the queſtion depending, becauſe he conceives it to be immediately connected with the object of his minute of the 4th inſtant; for if the charge of that detachment, which has been eſtimated at twenty-two lacks and a half, but which will more probably amount to twenty-five lacks, ſhall be exacted from the Nabob Vizier in the courſe of the preſent year, it will not only be a breach of the engagements made with him by the Governor-general, but exceed by the amount, whatever it may be, his ability to pay it, and the demand will produce the effect of a total abolition of the engagements now ſubſiſting with the Nabob Vizier.

Reſpecting the queſtion of withdrawing or continuing the corps, the Governor-general informs the Board, that the Nabob Vizier has provided five battalions of Sepoys to replace Colonel Cumming's detachment. Theſe have been lately completed, and properly equipped for the ſervice, under the direction of a very able officer, whom the Governor-general left with the Nabob for that purpoſe, and for attendance on the prince, with whom they are at preſent ſtationed as his guard; they are to attend the prince as far as Futty Ghur, their deſtined ſtation, and

and no further, as the Nabob cannot provide funds for raiſing an equivalent recruit to ſupply their place. This officer is Captain Frith. The Governor-general did not mention his appointment to the Board in his former report relating to the prince, becauſe the Nabob Vizier had at that time ſignified his intention of placing the corps under the command of a native officer, and the Governor-general of courſe withdrawn his recommendation of Captain Frith. The Nabob has ſince changed his intention.

Now, if it be the decided opinion of the Board that the detachment be continued in its ſtation for another year, the Governor-general conceives that it will afford a conſiderable ſaving to the Nabob Vizier, to apprize him of it, that he may diſband the corps which he had appointed for its relief; and what is a ſaving to the Nabob will be eventually an aid to the Company. But if the Board ſhall either ſuſpend their opinion, or ſhall adopt the conciliatory expedient of ordering the relief to take effect in the month of April or May next, beyond which the approaching ſeaſon of the rains will preclude the neceſſity of any defence during their continuance; and it may be eaſily remanded to the ſame ſtation, if there ſhould be a call for it after that period; in either of theſe caſes the Nabob ſhould be informed of the Board's intention, that he may keep the ſame corps in readineſs for its eventual deſtination. The Governor-general offers theſe intimations merely in advice, deeming it improper, in his preſent ſituation, to propoſe them as formal queſtions.

The only queſtion in which he requeſts the deciſion of the Board, is that to which he has referred in the firſt part of his minute, viz. that no part of the ſubſidy or charge of Colonel Sir John Cumming's detachment be exacted from the Nabob Vizier during the courſe of this year, but that his engagement be allowed to ſtand at 1,05,00,000 rupees, the ſum fixed by his engagement concluded with and ratified by the Governor-general.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Mr. Macpherſon.

The ſum agreed between the Governor-general and the Nabob Vizier to be diſcharged within the Fuſſully year, is all that can be exacted from the Vizier within that period. I agree that the expence of Sir John Cumming's detachment be ſubmitted, as was ſuggeſted in a former minute of the Governor-general's, and more particularly in the preceding minute, to the determination of the Court of Directors. But I think that the Vizier ſhould be immediately informed that the Board think the expence of his

his new levies an unneceſſary expence, and that Sir John Cumming's detachment will, while it remains in his dominions, render thoſe new battalions unneceſſary.

The Governor-general is requeſted to write to his Excellency the Vizier accordingly.

(Signed) J. M^c^P.

Agreed.

J. S.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 8th March 1785.

THE Governor-general lays before the Board the following letters, which he has received from Major Palmer; the laſt incloſing a letter from his Royal Highneſs the Shahzada Mirza Jewan Buckt.

Dear Sir, Lucknow, 13th Feb. 1785.

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 1ſt inſtant, and am deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of the liberal and generous terms upon which you require my continuance at Lucknow, for the purpoſes of aſſiſting in the arrangements eſtabliſhed by Mr. Haſtings between the Company and the Vizier, and of the tranſactions of your government.

It is with the greateſt ſincerity that I declare to you, my firſt wiſh is to retire from public buſineſs, not from diſtruſt of your confidence and ſupport, but for reaſons which are purely of perſonal conſideration to myſelf; yet I am too conſcious of my obligations to the Company, to my moſt worthy and reſpected patron and friend, Mr. Haſtings, and to the manner in which you have engaged my ſervices, to heſitate a moment in making any ſacrifice of my eaſe or convenience, whilſt you and he are partially diſpoſed to believe it may contribute to the ſucceſs of public affairs, and to the credit of your adminiſtration. Theſe will be the firſt objects of my attention, ſo long as you are pleaſed to honour me with the execution of your commands. I have no views, nor will I entertain any that can come into competition with them; and you may be aſſured, that I will ſerve you with the ſame zeal and fidelity with which I have ſerved Mr. Haſtings for near eleven years.

I am perſuaded that it cannot be difficult for you to find, amongſt your particular and moſt deſerving friends, a gentleman with every requiſite to conciliate the confidence and eſteem of the Vizier and his ſervants, and with abilities far ſuperior to mine to conduct the affairs of your government at this Durbar; and whenever you ſhall be inclined to ſend here a perſon of this deſcription, I will moſt chearfully and cordially make way for him, and introduce

introduce him upon the moſt advantageous footing in my power.

The Vizier and his miniſters place a firm reliance upon the aſſurances which Mr. Haſtings has given them of your friendly diſpoſition towards them, and of your determination to abide by the engagements which he has entered into. Their confidence will be ſtrengthened and confirmed by your own letters, and the daily proofs which the courſe of buſineſs will afford.

The Shah Zaada and the Vizier are hourly expected. I ſhall have the honour to preſent your letters to them on their arrival; and will omit no means nor opportunity of exciting in their minds that entire confidence and eſteem which is ſo neceſſary to the public welfare, and for your mutual perſonal ſatisfaction. I have not the ſmalleſt doubt of ſucceſs in this endeavour.

I have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that there is not the leaſt appearance of failure in the Vizier's pecuniary engagements to the Company. The crops are remarkably fine, and no obſtruction has happened, or is likely to happen in the collections. It ſhall be my particular care to guard againſt every circumſtance which may tend to diſappoint the well-grounded hope I entertain upon this ſubject.

The late predatory incurſion of the Seiks has been more diſcreditable than injurious to the Vizier's government; there has certainly been neglect in the Aumil of Rohilcund, as the Vizier pays for a force in that country more than adequate to its protection againſt ſuch a deſpicable banditti as the Seiks, and the Ghauts ſhould have been properly guarded as ſoon as the rivers became fordable. The depredations made by theſe freebooters falls upon individuals, and can in no ſhape affect the public revenues. They retreated acroſs the Ganges on the firſt appearance of the Vizier's troops; and although they are now aſſembled to the number, as is reported, of 20,000, on the weſtern ſhore of the Ganges, I have not the leaſt apprehenſion of their making another attempt to penetrate into the Vizier's dominions, as Sir John Cumming detached two regiments on the 2d inſtant to Anoopſhire, and was to follow with his whole force on the 12th.

Repeated and uniform accounts have been received through the public news-papers, and private intelligence, of encouragement given to this attack upon the Vizier's poſſeſſions by Mahajee Scindia, and of his having engaged to ſupport it by a Maratta force. I did not give implicit credit to theſe reports, but the poſſibility of their being true was ſufficient cauſe for not neglecting them. I therefore recommend it to the Vizier to require the

actual

actual march of the Futty Ghur detachment, and the preparation for it of the brigade at Cawnpore. The latter is now ſuſpended as unneceſſary, ſince Sir John Cumming is in the field, and Scindia has ſolemnly diſavowed to Mr. Anderſon having excited the Seiks to ravage the Vizier's country.

The acting miniſter of the Vizier having ſome time ſince intimated to me, that the conduct of Almaſs Ally Cawn wore the appearance of diſcontent, and of a deſign to give diſturbance to the affairs of government, I requeſted the latter to come to Lucknow, with which he immediately complied. I made the departure of Mr. Haſtings, and my deſire to give him aſſurances of your kindneſs and protection, the pretext for deſiring to ſee him; and whilſt he was with me I found means to aſcertain his real diſpoſition and intentions, which I have the ſatisfaction to aſſure you are entirely dutiful towards his maſter, and full of confidence in and attachment to the Company's government. I diſcovered that he had entertained ſome diſtruſt of Hyder Beg Cawn, on account of his having detached two of his principal dependants from their connection with him, at a time when it was ſuſpected that he intended to retire from the Vizier's dominions; but I found it eaſy to remove this miſunderſtanding, and to reſtore confidence and cordiality between them, which they have engaged to preſerve, and to apply their utmoſt exertions in their reſpective ſtations for the proſperity of the Vizier's affairs, and of thoſe of the Company, as connected with them.

I hope that this conciſe relation will ſuffice to give you a general view of the preſent ſituation of the Vizier's moſt material concerns. I ſhall not fail to inform you regularly of all future tranſactions as they occur.

I have the honour to be,
with perfect reſpect and attachment,
Dear, Sir,
Your moſt obedient and
faithful humble ſervant,
(Signed) WM. PALMER.

Dear Sir, Lucknow, 21ſt February 1785.

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 9th inſtant, with the encloſures of one for Hyder Beg Cawn, and one for Almaſs Alli Cawn, and duplicates of your former letters to theſe perſons, and to Heſſein Rezza Cawn.

Herewith I have the pleaſure to tranſmit to you anſwers from the Nabob Vizier and his two principal miniſters to your firſt letters: I am acquainted with their contents,

contents, although I had no ſhare in their compoſition. I can aſſure you, that they contain the genuine and unmixed ſentiments of the writers; and, for this reaſon, I am perſuaded will afford you real ſatisfaction. I have the pleaſure further to aſſure you, from the opportunity of daily perſonal obſervation, that the Shah Zaada, the Vizier, and his miniſters, entertain the moſt entire confidence in your juſtice and friendly intentions towards them; and that no uneaſineſs remains upon their minds, but what ariſes from their perſonal attachment and eſteem for Mr. Haſtings.

I am willing to believe that you will conſider the mention which is made of me in theſe letters, as a proof that I had no part in dictating them. I own that my vanity is gratified by the favourable opinions expreſſed of me; yet a ſenſe of delicacy would induce me to deſire they might be ſuppreſſed, if it had not occurred to me that they might ſerve as an argument in ſupport of the honour which you have done me to continue me in the charge of the affairs of your government at this Durbar.

The Shah Zaada is preparing his anſwer. Almas is at a diſtance; but I expect his alſo in a day or two.

The encloſed order for two hundred and two gold Mohurs is the accuſtomary Nazurs of congratulation from the Miniſters Huſſein Rezza Cawn and Hyder Beg Cawn.

As your letter informs me that Mr. Haſtings had finally taken his departure, I beg leave in this place to offer you my ſincere congratulations on your acceſſion to the honourable and important ſtation which he has reſigned, and my warmeſt wiſhes that your adminiſtration may be invariably proſperous.

In my letter of the 13th inſtant I had the honour to acquaint you with the ſtate of the moſt material concerns of the Vizier's government. The incurſion of the Seiks was ſudden and predatory, they retired on the firſt appearance of the Vizier's troops, without any conſiderable booty, nor have they ſince attempted to diſturb the Vizier's dominions; on the contrary, the chief who is at this time with a body of thoſe people near the Vizier's frontier, on the weſtern ſide of the Ganges, has written to the Aumil of Rohilcund, that the late incurſion was an act unauthorized by and offenſive to their ſtate. The greateſt part of theſe freebooters have retreated acroſs the Jumna, on the approach of Lieutenant Colonel Knudſon's detachment, and thoſe who remain in the Doab will avoid giving him any pretext for attacking them; their preſent purpoſe is to levy their tribute upon the country of the late Zaabita Cawn.

In

In this ſituation of ſecurity from their further ravages, the Vizier has recommended it to Colonel Sir John Cumming to return to Futty Ghur, with the principal part of his force, leaving Lieutenant Colonel Knudſon, with two regiments, at Anoopſhire, until the riſe of the river ſhall make the paſſage of the enemy impracticable, which will be early in the month of April.

The Miniſter and Almaſs Ali Cawn continue on terms of entire cordiality and confidence. I have not the ſmalleſt apprehenſion that their good underſtanding will be interrupted, ſince you have given them both ſuch encouragement to rely upon your protection and ſupport, whilſt they diſcharge their reſpective duties for the advantage of both governments: and as they know how eſſentially their own honours and intereſts depend upon their zeal and fidelity, there can be no doubt of their beſt exertions.

I adviſed Mr. Haſtings on the 22d ultimo, of the ſuſpicions which the miniſter entertained of Almaſs Ali Cawn; but as I conſidered the exceptionable part of his conduct as calculated merely to obtain ſome advantage or indulgence in his farms, I told the Governor that I would not alarm adminiſtration until I had proofs to juſtify the apprehenſion of ſerious danger. The truth is, that Almaſs Ali Cawn has been made too powerful and opulent a ſubject, and certainly would be too much for the Vizier's government, if he was not reſtrained by its connection with ours: but as matters are now circumſtanced, his defection would be attended with many ill conſequences, and it cannot be denied that his opulence is productive of ſome good ones. His punctuality in payment may be relied on; and he frequently aſſiſts government with the advance of very conſiderable ſums in its exigencies. He knows that he can no where obtain ſuch a degree of ſecurity for his perſon and property as he finds in his preſent ſituation; it muſt therefore be very unjuſt and rigorous treatment that will induce him to deſert it; and ſo long as he continues it, proper management will turn it to the benefit of the ſtate.

There can be no doubt that all the tranſactions between your government, the Shah, and Mahajee Scindia, might be managed by a ſingle agent: but I am almoſt certain that theſe two powers would not negociate confidently with the ſame perſon. The Shah is far from being ſatiſfied with the exerciſe of the authority and influence which Scindia has acquired over his affairs, and will ſtruggle to free himſelf from his controul, whenever he thinks there is a proſpect of changing it for another that will leave him a greater choice of action. He will never loſe ſight of your government, as his beſt reſource againſt the injuries

juries and indignities which are offered to him by thoſe who aſſume the direction of his affairs; and as a time may come when it ſhall be thought as politic and expedient, as it may be thought juſt and honourable, to ſupport the houſe of Timur, and as at all times Shah Allum will not fail to apply to you when he feels his ſituation too irkſome for his patience, it will perhaps be neceſſary to have an expreſs agent from your government to reſide with him for the purpoſe of confidential communication, which it would be difficult to conduct without one. I find alſo, that, at this time the reſidence of an agent in the ſervice of the Company is uſeful to the Vizier; and that he is deſirous a ſeparate agent ſhould remain with the Shah until his return to Delhi, when it will be clearly known whether his Majeſty is determined to continue the influence and authority of Scindia and the Mahratta ſtate, or is diſpoſed to change it. In the former caſe, an agent from you will not only be uſeleſs, but may be pernicious, whilſt your government, and that of the Mahrattas, continue in their preſent relative ſituation.

Theſe reaſons againſt giving any intimation to Major Browne of your ſentiments upon this ſubject, have occurred to me upon a ſhort reflection, but your judgment and information are ſo ſuperior to mine, that I cannot expect my arguments ſhould be concluſive; I offer them as my excuſe for not hinting, until I hear from you again, any thing upon the ſubject to Major Browne.

Leſt the deſire which is expreſſed in the Vizier's letter to you, of my continuing here, ſhould be any reſtraint upon your inclination, at any time hereafter, to place another gentleman in my ſtation, the ſmalleſt hint from you ſhall ſuffice to make the change my own act; and I ſincerely declare, that whenever you may think proper it ſhall take place, I ſhall have a pride and ſatisfaction in the opportunity of evincing the extent of my wiſhes to deſerve the confidence which you have repoſed in me, and the regard which you have expreſſed for me.

I ſhall diſpatch, by the public Dawk Bearers, to-morrow, and ſucceſſively, ſome baſkets of fruits, of which Hyder Beg Cawn requeſts your acceptance.

I have the honour to be, with the trueſt attachment and reſpect,

Dear Sir,
your moſt obedient,
and faithful humble ſervant,
(Signed) WM. PALMER.

Dear

Lucknow, 24th February 1785.

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to tranſmit to you herewith, a letter from the Shah Zaada, in anſwer to yours to him; and I have the ſatisfaction to aſſure you, that he is diſpoſed to conduct himſelf entirely by the wiſhes and advice of your government, and to place the firmeſt reliance upon your perſonal kindneſs and friendſhip.

The Prince and the Vizier live in perfect harmony; and the former appears to be very happy and contented with his preſent ſituation.

The Seiks have entirely evacuated the frontiers of the Vizier's dominions, and every thing within them is in a ſtate of tranquillity, without the leaſt appearance of further diſturbance or obſtruction in the collections.

I have the honour to be, with perfect attachment and reſpect,

Dear Sir,
your moſt obedient,
and faithful humble ſervant,
WM. PALMER.

From the Prince: Received 7th March 1785.

YOUR letter has been received, in which you write that you are ready and active, from your heart and ſoul, in obedience and fidelity to the preſence, and that at all times, and in all ſituations, you conſider your allegiance as your greateſt happineſs; and that you are hopeful of the ſame favour and protection from the preſence, as were experienced by the late Governor-general. Before this I had been convinced of your fidelity and attachment to me; and now, from the repreſentation of Major Palmer, and from the receipt of your Arzee, I have been a hundred-fold more inclined towards you. The proofs of obedience in the late Governor-general, and his labour and attention to forward my concerns, are well known to you, and that he was even deſirous of returning to this quarter, to ſhew his attachment to the preſence, he muſt have acquainted you; as it has been neceſſary for him to depart for Europe, the ſettled allegiance which he had in his heart will, by the bleſſing of God, ſhew itſelf in your conduct. I am convinced of and depend firmly upon your attachment, and whatever favour and protection were ſhewn from the preſence to the late Governor-general, will be doubled towards you. Know me to be beyond meaſure favourable, and well inclined to you; write conſtantly the accounts of your own ſituation.

Read the following letters to the Governor-general, from his Excellency the Nabob Vizier, and the Nabobs Huſſein Reza Cawn and Hyder Beg Cawn:

From the Vizier: Received 3d March 1785.

YOUR friendly letter, containing the proofs of your friendſhip and affection, and full of words of friendſhip, and letters of kindneſs, arrived and gladdened me with all the particulars of your ſincerity and affection.

The connection and alliance which exiſted between the Company, the Governor-general, Mr. Haſtings, and the Gentlemen of the Council, and the deceaſed Dawab during his life, need not be mentioned. By the bleſſing of God, the ſtrength of this mutual affection is every day encreaſing. Mr. Haſtings was at all times ready to ſupport the connection of friendſhip, to improve the affairs of the Company, to add benefits and advantages, and ſtability to the concerns of my government, and to preſerve the credit and ſatisfaction of my miniſters, who are faithful ſervants to both parties; and when he came to Lucknow, he ſettled an agreement with them for the payment of the debt to the Company, and for the good management of all my concerns. Theſe circumſtances are all known to you; and as you, out of regard to the ſincere and cloſe friendſhip, in conformity to the cuſtoms and rules of the Engliſh, who never deviate from their engagements, have determined to preſerve it, and having from your friendſhip approved that plans are inclined to ſupport between yourſelf and me the agreement made by the Governor-general, Mr. Haſtings; you have by this auſpicious news made me happy and eaſy on all accounts. This matter was fully explained to the utmoſt ſatisfaction of my heart, by the letters of the Governor-general, Mr. Haſtings, and the repreſentations of Major Palmer. I am now from your letter fully convinced that you will maintain that agreement, which is full of advantages on both ſides; and Major Palmer has given me the greateſt reliance upon you. I am now, hopeful, from your friendſhip, that in the ſame degree as the Governor-general, Mr. Haſtings, ſupported and maintained the ſtrength, and friendſhip, and the ſtability of my concerns, and the credit and the honour of my miniſters, you alſo will at preſent, from friendſhip, be inclined to maintain the connection of intimacy, the eſtabliſhment and promotion of good management in my affairs, and the honour and credit of my miniſters; and I will at all times be equally ſtedfaſt in my friendſhip with you, as with the Governor-general, Mr. Haſtings. By the bleſſing of God the debt

to

to the Company will be properly ſettled under the plan fixed by Mr. Haſtings with my miniſters. I have been highly delighted that Major Palmer remains with me on the former footing, becauſe Major Palmer is always labouring with me to confirm the mutual friendſhip. From his letters you will learn all particulars of my friendſhip and ſatisfaction.

From Huſſein Reza Cawn; Received 3d March 1785.

YOUR gracious letter, containing the particulars of your friendſhip for his Highneſs the Vizier, and of your approval and reſolution to maintain the plan which the Governor-general, Mr. Haſtings, ſettled before his departure from Lucknow, honoured me by its arrival in a happy hour. The letters of the Governor-general, Mr. Haſtings, aſſuring that you were determined to preſerve the friendſhip of his Highneſs, and to ſhew favour to his miniſters and dependants arrived, and the particulars were further and fully explained by Major Palmer, in conſequence of your and the Governor-general, Mr. Haſtings's, inſtructions, and gave the higheſt ſatisfaction. As the labours of the Company's chiefs have been always ſtedfaſt and firm in preſerving the connection of friendſhip between the Company and his Highneſs the Vizier, and to this time its encreaſe has, under the Governor-general, Mr. Haſtings's, management, been publiſhed to the world and its inhabitants: at preſent, that your letters are arrived, and that with the pen of friendſhip you promiſe to preſerve the connection in the ſame ſtate of ſtrength and ſtedfaſtneſs, his Highneſs and all his wellwiſhers are made happy and grateful for your favours. I am an old ſervant, was from the beginning the faithful ſervant and wellwiſher of both governments; and now alſo, being fixed in the ſame obedience and fidelity, and conſidering you the ſame as Mr. Haſtings, and being ready with my life, under a reliance upon your favour and protection, I will perform the duties of attachment, and will in no inſtance be deficient in the execution of your orders. I am convinced, from your kindneſs and favour, that the ſame protection as Mr. Haſtings gave to my credit and honour, and the ſame favours as he beſtowed, you, who have now expreſſed your approbation of my conduct, will fulfil my hopes, by beſtowing upon me the further particulars of my readineſs and obedience; and my dependance upon, and confidence in, the favours and kindneſs which you have expreſſed will be explained to you by the letters of Major Palmer, who formerly, in conſequence of Mr. Haſtings's inſtructions, and now, in obedience to your orders, has

given his Highneſs and us, and all his Highneſs's ſervants, the greateſt confidence in you. I am hopeful that I may be honoured with frequent letters.

From Hyder Beg Cawn; received 3d March 1785.

In the ſame words as the preceding.

From Huſſein Reza Cawn; 8th March.

YOUR gracious letter, full of the particulars of favour and friendſhip, arrived, and encreaſed my dignity; and I received the greateſt pleaſure and happineſs from learning your favour and kindneſs, and your reliance upon the fidelity of me, whoſe ſole deſire is to experience your ſatisfaction and protection. By the bleſſing of God, and your good auſpices, all matters will be compleated in conformity to your wiſhes, and your great name and your dignity will be publiſhed in all Hindoſtan. The ſhadow of your favour and protection alone is neceſſary to produce that happy ſtate of affairs which you wiſh; and the plan which the Nabob Governor-general Amaud ud Dowla Bahadre ſettled in his own preſence at Lucknow, will, through your protection, meet with a happy completion to your utmoſt ſatisfaction; at this time that from your knowledge of men, and your protection of your ſervants, you have written ſo full a conſolation to us, and Major Palmer, in your name, has aſſured us of your favour and kindneſs, and your reliance upon us, not the ſmalleſt hope, doubt, or alarm, is left in the heart of his Highneſs and his ſervants. My preſent only wiſh is, that, employing myſelf from my heart and ſoul in the execution of your orders, and in obedience to your commands, I may preſerve your ſatisfaction and pleaſure, which I muſt conceive as my greateſt happineſs, in the ſame degree as I employed, obeyed, and executed the orders of the Nabob Governor-general Amaud ul Doulah; knowing my happineſs to be concerned, I will from my heart and ſoul employ myſelf in fidelity and obedience to your commands, having and being at all times firm in my attachment to the Company's government, and that of his Highneſs, which are every way the ſame. I will now, through hopes of your favour and protection, be doubly ſo; for I, conſidering my own intereſts to depend upon my proper management of the concerns of both governments, and in your ſatisfaction, you will learn all theſe particulars from Major Palmer's letter.--The concern which, from your kindneſs, you mention to have felt on account of the Seiks diſturbance in the neighbourhood of Bevelly is very flattering.

tering. The caſe is, that in the beginning, from the Ghauts of the Ganges being fordable, the Seiks croſſed the river, but immediately on the approach of the army of the Vizier, having no power to remain, they returned, and his Highneſs's army being again put under the command of Raja Jugnaut Bahadre, has in a proper manner diſpoſed all the Ghauts of the Ganges, and for a greater protection two regiments from the Company's forces at Futty Gurr are marching towards Anoopſhire; and his Highneſs's army having croſſed at the Ghauts, in the country of the King and Zabeta Khan, are going towards the river Jumna. The diſturbances of the Seiks are now at an end, which I write for your information; and through your aſſiſtance, and the firmneſs of your favour and protection, all matters will be properly ſettled. I am, beyond diſpute, full of attachment to both governments, and am hopeful that I may be gladdened by letters of favour and kindneſs. Further particulars of my attachment and ready fidelity to you, and my wiſhes to procure your ſatisfaction, will be fully known to you by Major Palmer's letters.

From Hyder Beg Cawn; Ditto.

In the ſame words.

Extract of Company's Letter to Bengal; dated 11th April 1785.

Par. 63. THE reſolution you paſſed on the 31ſt December 1783 to withdraw the reſidency from Lucknow, and to accept the offer made by the Vizier and his miniſter, to give the ſecurity of bankers of known credit and reſponſibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and the current kiſts, has our approbation; but by this approbation it is by no means our intention, either on the one hand to condemn the conduct of our Reſidents, or on the other to preclude ourſelves from examining into the complaints exhibited againſt them by the Vizier and his miniſter. We approve likewiſe of the continuance of an Accountant or Receiver at Lucknow, ſo long as any of the Company's trooos ſhall be ſtationed in the Vizier's dominions, whoſe buſineſs muſt be confined to the ſole purpoſe of adjuſting and keeping the accounts between the Nabob and the Company, receiving the ſtipulated ſubſidy for thoſe troops, and for appropriating the ſame in ſuch manner as you ſhall think proper to direct.

given his Highneſs and us, and all his Highneſs's ſervants, the greateſt confidence in you. I am hopeful that I may be honoured with frequent letters.

From Hyder Beg Cawn; received 3d March 1785.

In the ſame words as the preceding.

From Huſſein Reza Cawn; 8th March.

YOUR gracious letter, full of the particulars of favour and friendſhip, arrived, and encreaſed my dignity; and I received the greateſt pleaſure and happineſs from learning your favour and kindneſs, and your reliance upon the fidelity of me, whoſe ſole deſire is to experience your ſatisfaction and protection. By the bleſſing of God, and your good auſpices, all matters will be compleated in conformity to your wiſhes, and your great name and your dignity will be publiſhed in all Hindoſtan. The ſhadow of your favour and protection alone is neceſſary to produce that happy ſtate of affairs which you wiſh; and the plan which the Nabob Governor-general Amaud ud Dowla Bahadre ſettled in his own preſence at Lucknow, will, through your protection, meet with a happy completion to your utmoſt ſatisfaction; at this time that from your knowledge of men, and your protection of your ſervants, you have written ſo full a conſolation to us, and Major Palmer, in your name, has aſſured us of your favour and kindneſs, and your reliance upon us, not the ſmalleſt hope, doubt, or alarm, is left in the heart of his Highneſs and his ſervants. My preſent only wiſh is, that, employing myſelf from my heart and ſoul in the execution of your orders, and in obedience to your commands, I may preſerve your ſatisfaction and pleaſure, which I muſt conceive as my greateſt happineſs, in the ſame degree as I employed, obeyed, and executed the orders of the Nabob Governor-general Amaud ul Doulah; knowing my happineſs to be concerned, I will from my heart and ſoul employ myſelf in fidelity and obedience to your commands, having and being at all times firm in my attachment to the Company's government, and that of his Highneſs, which are every way the ſame. I will now, through hopes of your favour and protection, be doubly ſo; for I, conſidering my own intereſts to depend upon my proper management of the concerns of both governments, and in your ſatisfaction, you will learn all theſe particulars from Major Palmer's letter.--The concern which, from your kindneſs, you mention to have felt on account of the Seiks diſturbance in the neighbourhood of Bevelly is very flattering.

tering. The caſe is, that in the beginning, from the Ghauts of the Ganges being fordable, the Seiks croſſed the river, but immediately on the approach of the army of the Vizier, having no power to remain, they returned, and his Highneſs's army being again put under the command of Kaja Jugnaut Bahadre, has in a proper manner diſpoſed all the Ghauts of the Ganges, and for a greater protection two regiments from the Company's forces at Futty Gurr are marching towards Anoopſhire; and his Highneſs's army having croſſed at the Ghauts, in the country of the King and Zabeta Khan, are going towards the river Jumna. The diſturbances of the Seiks are now at an end, which I write for your information; and through your aſſiſtance, and the firmneſs of your favour and protection, all matters will be properly ſettled. I am, beyond diſpute, full of attachment to both governments, and am hopeful that I may be gladdened by letters of favour and kindneſs. Further particulars of my attachment and ready fidelity to you, and my wiſhes to procure your ſatisfaction, will be fully known to you by Major Palmer's letters.

From Hyder Beg Cawn; Ditto.

In the ſame words.

Extract of Company's Letter to Bengal; dated 11th April 1785.

Par. 63. THE reſolution you paſſed on the 31ſt December 1783 to withdraw the reſidency from Lucknow, and to accept the offer made by the Vizier and his miniſter, to give the ſecurity of bankers of known credit and reſponſibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and the current kiſts, has our approbation; but by this approbation it is by no means our intention, either on the one hand to condemn the conduct of our Reſidents, or on the other to preclude ourſelves from examining into the complaints exhibited againſt them by the Vizier and his miniſter. We approve likewiſe of the continuance of an Accountant or Receiver at Lucknow, ſo long as any of the Company's trooos ſhall be ſtationed in the Vizier's dominions, whoſe buſineſs muſt be confined to the ſole purpoſe of adjuſting and keeping the accounts between the Nabob and the Company, receiving the ſtipulated ſubſidy for thoſe troops, and for appropriating the ſame in ſuch manner as you ſhall think proper to direct.

Letters from Mr. Macpherſon to the Nabob Vizier, Hyder Beg Khan, &c. and Fyzeulla Khan.

To the Nabob Vizier: Written 16th June 1785.

In conſequence of Major Palmer's wiſhes to return from his preſent office of miniſter for the Governor-general at your Highneſs's court, I have appointed Colonel Harper to his office.

In this appointment I have been guided by my knowledge of your Highneſs's high opinion of Colonel Harper, and the real attachment which he bears to your family, as well as the great eſteem which your miniſters and people bear to him from the experience which your late moſt illuſtrious father had of his attachment and honour.

Major Palmer will introduce Colonel Harper with the proper ceremony to your Highneſs. Permit me to add, that it was the wiſh of the late Governor-general, though he had no perſonal friendſhip for Colonel Harper, that he ſhould be miniſter on the part of my government at your Highneſs's court, after the departure of Major Palmer.

If I had it in my power to ſhew a ſtronger mark of my attachment to your Highneſs, and of my determination to maintain the engagements ſettled between us than I now do by the appointment of Colonel Harper, I would gladly give ſuch a proof of my friendſhip. In every matter you will find me the true friend of your family, and the juſt ſupporter of your rights. Colonel Harper will explain particulars.

As Major Palmer is ſpeedily to return to Calcutta, I truſt your Highneſs will mark his departure from your court with civility and favour.

To Hyder Beg Khan, Huſſen Reza Khan, and Almaſs Ally Khan, of the ſame tenor and date.

To Akbar Ally Khan: Written 16th June 1785.

I have the pleaſure to acquaint you, for the information of his Royal Highneſs, that Colonel Harper is appointed my miniſter for the tranſaction of the affairs of my government at the court of the Nabob Vizier.

Colonel Harper will receive a ſeparate and higher commiſſion from me as my miniſter at the court of his Royal Highneſs, for whom I could not teſtify greater loyalty and affection than by ſuch appointment.

Pleaſe to inform his Royal Highneſs of my conſtant attachment to his perſon, and that it will be my greateſt ambition to obtain for him ſolid proofs of the regard and friendſhip

friendſhip of the Engliſh. The Nabob Vizier cannot oblige me more than by his conſtant proofs of obedience and perſonal friendſhip to his Royal Highneſs; and this is fully known to the Nabob Vizier, to his miniſters, and people. Write to me frequent accounts of his Highneſs's welfare, and of your own proſperity.

To Fyzeulla Khan.

In conſequence of Major Palmer's wiſhes to retire from his preſent office of miniſter for the Governor-general at the Nabob Vizier's court, I have appointed Colonel Harper to his office.

In this appointment I have been guided by my knowledge of his Highneſs's high opinion of Colonel Harper, and the real attachment which he bears to his Highneſs's family, as well as the great eſteem which his Highneſs's miniſters and people bear to him, from the experience which the late moſt illuſtrious Nabob had of his attachment and honour.

Permit me to add, that it was the wiſh of the late Governor-general, though he had no perſonal friendſhip for Colonel Harper, that he ſhould be miniſter on the part of my government at his Highneſs's court, after the departure of Major Palmer.

Conſidering me to be your true friend, write frequently, and let all your letters, and every information reſpecting your concerns, be forwarded to me through the Colonel, to whom I refer you for particulars.

To Muzuffer Jung, of Furruckabad.

Of the ſame Tenor and Date, except the laſt Paragraph, which is as follows:

In conſequence of your friendſhip for the Company, I have given you this information; and requeſt that, conſidering me to be your true friend, you will conſtantly write me the news of your health.

Extract of Court's Letter to Bengal, dated 21ſt September 1785.

Para. 6. In your letter of the 17th January laſt, you have ſubmitted the following queſtion to our determination, viz. "Whether the Company or the Vizier ſhall "be charged with the expence of the detachment com-"manded by Sir John Cummings;" and we have taken an early opportunity of communicating to you our di-

rections herein. As your late Governor-general, in virtue of the powers with which he was inveſted, had agreed with the Vizier to ſtrike out the charge of this detachment from his account from 1ſt January 1785, we hereby direct that the ſaid agreement be punctually adhered to.

7. In the final arrangement of the military peace eſtabliſhment which will accompany this diſpatch, we have had in view the whole of the ſervice which it will be neceſſary to provide for under your preſidency; ſuch part of that eſtabliſhment as will be ſtationed in the Vizier's dominions will be paid by him according to the ſtipulations of the ſubſiſting agreements. But it is our poſitive order, that no greater number of troops be employed upon that ſervice, unleſs at his Excellency's particular application and requeſt; and that all the troops ſo employed be conſidered as part of our fixed eſtabliſhment, which is not upon any account to be enlarged.

8. We cannot help expreſſing our regret that the opinion of your Board did not concur with that of the Governor-general, when the queſtion concerning the recall of Colonel Cummings's detachment was under your conſideration, as the expence of it will, before the receipt of this letter, amount to nearly the ſum of £. 300,000; and we agree with Mr. Haſtings, that the brigade which by treaty is to be conſtantly reſident in thoſe dominions, would be found fully adequate to their protection. We therefore direct, that upon receipt of this letter not a moment be loſt in ordering the recall of Sir John Cummings's detachment, ſo that the Company may be inſtantly relieved from the burden of that enormous expence.

16. The irruption of the Seiks, of which you adviſe us, leads to no other concluſion but the propriety of keeping a watchful eye over the weſtern frontier of our own provinces, and thoſe of the Vizier, which is the concluſion you properly draw from it.

17. In a preceding paragraph, we have directed the immediate recall of the Futty Ghur detachment. But as by your laſt advices we find that in conſequence of theſe hoſtilities from the Seiks in the province of Rohilcund, the Vizier had applied for the aſſiſtance of a part of this detachment, and that it was probable he would make a further requeſt for the whole, we hereby order, that the detachment be continued ſo long as the Vizier ſhall deem ſuch continuance neceſſary for his own ſecurity, in which caſe the expence thereof muſt be carried to his account, agreeably to the ſtipulations of the treaty of 1781.

18. But as ſoon as the Vizier ſhall ceaſe to require the aſſiſtance of all or any part of that detachment, we

direct

direct our former orders to be carried into execution; and even during the time the Vizier may call for their aſſiſtance, we hereby order, that the whole expence of the ſtaff, batta, and other contingencies, be immediately aboliſhed.

19. And while upon this ſubject, we think it proper to expreſs our approbation of the principles contained in Mr. Macpherſon's letter to the Vizier, bearing date the 18th February laſt, and we expect that the agreements made between the Vizier and Mr. Haſtings will be invariably adhered to.

20. Upon the ſame principle we muſt expreſs our opinion, that if the continuance of Major Palmer with the Vizier is wiſhed for by him, it would be improper at preſent to recall him, and far leſs would it be proper to ſend any perſon to reſide with him whoſe preſence would be peculiarly adverſe to his feelings.

21. We obſerve what is ſtated relative to the good opinion Mr. Macpherſon entertains of Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper. Upon that ſubject we purpoſely refrain from giving any opinion whatever; for the whole tranſactions in Oude for a conſiderable time paſt will very ſoon receive our full conſideration, and it would be improper to anticipate any opinion at preſent.

22. In your letter of the 22d February laſt, we find it ſtated, that the ſum charged to the Vizier for the brigade at Cawnpore is ſhort of the actual expence, in the monthly ſum of CRs. 33,760. 12. 4, and for the Futty Ghur detachment is CRs. 49,287. 11. 8, and for the regiment at Lucknow CRs. 984. 3. 10. It is not our intention to charge to the Vizier more or leſs than by the treaty he has ſtipulated to pay; but we muſt at the ſame time direct, that you make ſuch arrangements in the corps ſerving in his Excellency's dominions, without diminiſhing their actual force, as will reduce their expences within the ſum ſtipulated for them.

23. As we conſider the troops ſtationed in the territories of the Nabob of Oude as forming a ſtrong barrier to our own provinces, and as in our ſeparate letter of this date we have ſtated the eſtabliſhed force which we think fully adequate to their defence, it is our meaning that thoſe troops ſhall be conſidered as forming a part of ſuch eſtabliſhment.

Letter of Directors approving the Abolition of the Residency of Owde, 1785.

Extract of Company's Letter to Bengal; dated 11th April 1785.

Par. 63. THE reſolution you paſſed on the 31ſt December 1783, to withdraw the reſidency from Lucknow, and to accept the offer made by the Vizier and his miniſter to give the ſecurity of Bankers of known credit and reſponſibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and the current kiſts, has our approbation; but by this approbation it is by no means our intention, either on the one hand to condemn the conduct of our reſidents, or on the other to preclude ourſelves from examining into the complaints exhibited againſt them by the Vizier and his miniſter. We approve likewiſe of the continuance of an accountant or receiver at Lucknow, ſo long as any of the Company's troops ſhall be ſtationed in the Vizier's dominions, whoſe buſineſs muſt be confined to the ſole purpoſe of adjuſting and keeping the accounts between the Nabob and the Company, receiving the ſtipulated ſubſidy for thoſe troops, and for appropriating the ſame in ſuch manner as you ſhall think proper to direct.

Copy of Proceedings, &c. relative to Allowances made from the Revenues of Oude to the Company's Servants, and others, residing within the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, 19th February 1785.

Extract of Letter from the Governor-general to the Vizier; dated 18th Febry. 1785.

WITH the reduction of the Company's expences, I anxiouſly wiſh to leſſen the expences to which your Highneſs's treaſury is put on account of the Company's troops, and that of gratuities to the Company's ſervants in your dominions, unleſs I think it for the Company's real ſervice that your Highneſs ſhould order any ſuch allowance in

in future, or that you ſhould be pleaſed to continue any allowances that are now granted. I hope your Highneſs will not grant any, or continue to order any to be paid, that are not recorded in the Company's accounts.

In caſe I ſhould be of opinion, that your Highneſs ſhould ſhew marks of your favour and generoſity to the Company's officers and ſervants, I ſhall mention the buſineſs to the gentlemen in Council, and your Highneſs's generoſity will then appear on the Company's books; for it is fit that the Company ſhould know, in every inſtance, the allowances of their ſervants in their employments at your Highneſs's court, and in your dominions.

When the matters are fully known and recorded, much expence will be ſaved to your Highneſs, and I ſhall have much leſs trouble from the applications of the Company's ſervants who wiſh to have leave to reſide at your court, and in your country. Beſides that, the Company will have much ſatisfaction from an invariable regulation in theſe matters.

Your Highneſs may be aſſured, that every regulation tending to reſtrain the expences of the Company's government, and of your own, is a regulation to ſtrengthen the friendſhip that was eſtabliſhed between them and your illuſtrious father, and more ſtrongly with your Highneſs.

Extract of Secret Letter from Bengal; dated 22d February 1785.

Par. 32. YOUR honourable Court will readily approve another principal object of that letter *. It explains to the Vizier the plan of reform which your government has adopted, and which was reſolved upon with the concurrence of your late Governor-general. It promiſes a relief to the Nabob's treaſury, by carrying a ſimilar plan of œconomical regulation through every connection of our ſervice with that of the Vizier within his Excellency's country; and it expreſsly ſtipulates, that his Excellency ſhall not pay any allowances or gratuity to any of the Company's ſervants, civil or military, within his dominions, that are not regularly recorded in his public accounts with this government. This ſtipulation appears from the reſult of late inveſtigations to be no leſs requiſite for the good of your ſervice in general than for the relief of the Vizier, and it is our ſteady determination to en-

* *Mr. M'Pherſon's Letter to the Vizier.*

force

force and maintain it as far as our beſt exertions can effect ſo deſirable a purpoſe.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, 8th March 1785.

Extract of Letter from the Governor General to Major Palmer; dated 8th March 1785.

ONE of the heavy complaints of the Nabob Vizier was the expence to which his government has been put by the allowances granted in various ways, and under different eſtabliſhments, to the Company's civil and military ſervants in his dominions; ſuch allowances, unleſs they have the expreſs approbation of the Company's adminiſtration, and are recorded in the public accounts, are no leſs a grievance to the Vizier than injurious to the Company's ſervice and general intereſts.

I have reſolved, as the letter to the Nabob Vizier, of which a tranſlation was ſent, would inform you, to bring all allowances and penſions from the Vizier's treaſury in the face of his account with the Company; my object is not an unpleaſant and invidious retroſpect (which ſeldom, in any caſe, forwards the public intereſt) but to keep our accounts with the Vizier correct and juſt in future, that he may have no cauſe, public or ſecret, for not fulfilling his engagements with the Company, and that as a correct adjuſtment may take place in his diſburſements for the Company's ſervice, a meaſure equally ſalutary to the reſpective intereſts of his and our own government, and conſtituting the beſt check to future intrigues.

My predeceſſor was often anxious to draw this line of adjuſtment, but he poſſeſſed not the opportunities which now offer for its eſtabliſhment. The recent conteſt between the Nabob's miniſters, and the ſervants of the Company at Lucknow, have placed the ſubject of the Vizier's reſources, and the manner of their expenditure, in a clear view, fully upon record, and independent of the wiſhes which Mr. Haſtings had, equally with me, to draw the line of diſburſement from the Vizier's treaſury to a juſt and œconomical preciſion: preſent neceſſity, and the honour of this government, preſs irreſiſtably for the adoption of the meaſures which I have recommended to the Vizier.

Mr. Haſtings united with us heartily in the general ſyſtem of retrenchments before his departure. We are now carrying reſolutions adopted in Council with him into practical effect; and it will be neceſſary to inform the Company's ſervants at Lucknow, that they are not to remain

remain excluded from the effects of a general ſyſtem of œconomy and retrenchment: what they receive from the Vizier is in fact received from the Company, while he is ſo much in arrears to them.—Mr. Wombwell will be directed to lay before the Board, bona fide, all the allowances that are paid to the Company's ſervants, of whatever deſcription, within the Vizier's dominions, from the Vizier's treaſury, or from the Company's paymaſters. Your own allowances, as the late Governor-general's agent at Lucknow, ſhould be mentioned with the reſt. The Vizier, I ſuppoſe, finds you a houſe and ſervants. Theſe particulars I would not mention, but on the principle that, when real reforms are undertaken, they ſhould begin with the conductors of theſe reforms. You will underſtand that I have ſhewn the example in my own family; yet I claim not any comparative merit in this meaſure; my predeceſſor had not the opportunity that was offered to me, nor was the public diſtreſs ever ſo preſſing as in the preſent moment

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 26th April 1785.

Extract of Letter from Major Palmer to the Governor-general; dated Lucknow, the 11th April 1785.

THE Vizier is now deſirous, as you will obſerve, of being entirely releaſed from the ſtipends which he has granted to the Company's ſervants, that he may be enabled to make greater exertions for the common intereſt. Theſe allowances, during my agency here, have been little more than nominal, only one lack of rupees having been advanced upon them: they are a ſource of great uneaſineſs and vexation to me, of which neither the Vizier nor his miniſter participate, as I have never been importunate with them for payment.

Extract of Letter from the Vizier; received 21ſt April 1785.

———With reſpect to the expences of the gentlemen who are here, I have before written in a covered manner. I now write plainly, that I have no ability to give money to the gentlemen, becauſe I am indebted many lacks of rupees to the bankers for the payment of the Company's debt. At the time of Mr. Haſtings's departure, I repreſented to him that I had no reſources for the expences of the gentlemen. Mr. Haſtings having aſcertained my diſtreſſed ſituation, told me, that after his arrival in Calcutta he would conſult with the Council, and remove from hence the expences of the gentlemen, and recall

recall every perſon except the gentlemen in office here. At this time, that all the concerns are dependant upon you, and you you have in every point given eaſe to my mind, according to Mr. Haſtings's agreement, I hope that the expences of the gentlemen may be removed from them, and that you may recall every perſon reſiding here beyond the gentlemen in office. Although Major Palmer does not at this time demand any thing for the gentlemen, and I have no ability to give them any thing; yet the cuſtom of the Engliſh gentlemen is, when they remain here, they will in the end aſk for ſomething. This is beſt, that they ſhould be recalled.

Extract Proceedings of the Governor-general and Council, in the Secret Inſpection Department, 3d May 1785.

THE Governor-general lays before the Board the following letter from Major Palmer, and the liſt tranſmitted with it of allowances from the Nabob Vizier to the Company's ſervants, civil and military, employed in his dominions.

Dear Sir, Lucknow, 27th March 1785.

I have the honour to tranſmit to you the liſt which you require of allowances made by the Nabob Vizier to the Company's ſervants, civil and military, and to perſons employed under them, within his Excellency's dominions.

Theſe allowances have, ſince the removal of the Reſident's office, been iſſued through me, as agent from the Governor-general, directly from the Vizier's treaſury, and totally independent of his accounts with the Company. Hitherto a very ſmall portion of them has been paid, and even for that I have waited until the Vizier could diſburſe it without interrupting his payments to the Company, or ſubjecting him to perſonal inconvenience.

I had the honour to acquaint you, in a former letter, that I did not think myſelf authorized to make any further application to the Vizier for allowances to the gentlemen reſiding at Lucknow, beyond the time of the late Governor-general's departure from thence, becauſe I underſtood that their continuance after that period depended upon the pleaſure of the Board, and not upon the authority of the Governor-general under the ſanction of which they were eſtabliſhed or confirmed.

It is proper and neceſſary that you ſhould be fully informed of the Vizier's bounty to the ſervants of the Company, and I with pleaſure anticipate your intended orders to Mr. Wombwell upon that head, by furniſhing you with

with a faithful account of every particular which has come to my knowledge, and I believe that none exiſt without it. This communication, however, is not likely to be neceſſary to future regulation, if you ſhould determine to make it an indiſpenſable condition of your conſent to the acceptance of allowances of this nature that they ſhall be regiſtered on the public proceedings; becauſe, however chearfully the Vizier may grant them as acts of his favour, or the reward of his approbation, and that too in the mode and to the extent which you might perſonally recommend, he would not, without great reluctance, ſubmit himſelf to the poſſibility of their being converted into obligations upon him by their being formally conſtituted a proof of the Company's demands againſt him.

You will now, Sir, be pleaſed to determine whether any perſons reſiding at this court on the part of your government ſhould be permitted to receive the bounty of the Vizier in the manner which he may be pleaſed to beſtow it, and to what extent individually.

Your advice and recommendation to the Vizier upon this ſubject will be the rule of his conduct, becauſe he will feel the fulleſt conviction of their being dictated by a regard for his intereſt.

I am inclined to believe that you will judge ſome emolument indiſpenſable to the creditable ſubſiſtence of ſuch gentlemen as muſt of neceſſity reſide here for the buſineſs of the Company; and I am certain that the Vizier will chearfully relieve your government from the charge of it, in conſideration of the heavy burthens which the late war has brought upon it, and of theſe gentlemen being in effect employed for his ſervice, as well as theirs.

I ſhall offer to your conſideration a few obſervations upon the allowances which may aſſiſt your determination.

To begin with my own, I ſolemnly declare to you, that they are no more than what I really and bona fide expend, and that I have retrenched conſiderably in ſome of the articles ſince the expence has been borne by the Vizier; and in every particular I make as little parade and appearance as my ſtation will admit.

I have not inſerted the expences of the arſenal under charge of Lieutenant Colonel Martin, becauſe they are independent of the appointment of a Company's ſervant.

Mr. Blaine, ſurgeon, is at a conſiderable expence in medicine and attendance upon the Vizier, and ſuch of his ſervants and ſubjects who require his aſſiſtance, which numbers of the latter frequently do.

Mr.

Mr. Bruce, ſurgeon, is chiefly employed by the Europeans; and between both deſcriptions of perſons, Lucknow furniſhes ſufficient practice for two ſurgeons.

The allowances of Mr. Willis have all the explanation which I am capable of giving them ſtated in the liſt.

Meſſrs. Gregory, Grant, and Jonſtone, have afforded me their aſſiſtance, the former occaſionally, and, in Perſian correſpondence, the two latter conſtantly.

Captain Frith has diminiſhed the expences of the corps under his command almoſt 10,000 rupees per month, without taking a ſingle ſepoy from the ſtrength of them. He has no interference with their pay or bazar, nor any means whatever of the ſmalleſt emolument, beyond his ſtated allowance.

Captain Mordaunt has not received a rupee of his allowance, from its commencement to the preſent hour.

The allowances to the other gentlemen reſiding at Lucknow are merely gratuities, and require no remark.

Be aſſured, Sir, that I ſhall moſt chearfully acquieſce in whatever you may determine concerning my allowances; and I think myſelf very happy in an opportunity of contributing to the great object of public œconomy, which you and your colleagues in adminiſtration have in view. And I dare anſwer, that every gentleman here will feel the ſame ſentiments for the public welfare.

I have the honour to be,
with great reſpect,
Dear, Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
(Signed) WM. PALMER.

Liſt of Allowances from the Nabob Vizier to the Servants of the Company, Civil and Military, employed in his Excellency's Dominions.

Monthly.

	Former Allowances.	Preſent Allowances.
Major Palmer, agent from the Governor-general at the Durbar, for dawks, eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of intelligence, ſervants, cattle, and table expences, upon an average	—	19,000
Mr. Wombwell, paymaſter and accountant-general, one and a half commiſſion on receipts -		

Mr.

Monthly.

	Former Allowances.	Preſent Allowances.
Mr. Wheler, aſſiſtant to Mr. Wombwell - - -	5,000	5,000
Commanding Officers at Cawnpoor and Futtyghur, in lieu of Bazar cuſtoms, each one lack of rupees per annum - - -	—	16,666
Lieutenant Colonel Martin, keeper of the arſenal, pay, batta of his rank	—	3,730
Mr. Blaine, ſurgeon to the Vizier, and to the civil eſtabliſhment -	8,000	5,000
Mr. Bruce, do. to the military eſtabliſhment - -	3,000	2,000
Mr. Scawen, auditor general -	—	2,000
Mr. Gall, aſſiſtant to do. -	—	1,000
Major Browne, on a deputation to the Shah - - -	—	3,000
Mr. Bird, ſecretary to do. -	—	1,000
Lieutenant Anderſon, on a deputation to Mahajee Sindia - -	—	3,000
Commanding Officer of the regiment ſtationed at Lucknow, for the protection of the Company's treaſury	—	2,000
Captain Frith, commanding four battalions of Sepoys, in lieu of all charges and contingencies whatever	—	5,000
Mr. Gregory, aſſiſtant on the civil eſtabliſhment - -	3,000	2,000
Meſſrs. Grant and Johnſtone, ditto, each 2,000 rupees -	—	4,000
Mr. Taylor, dawk maſter, 1,000 rupees for dawks, and 1,000 rupees for dawk bearers - -	—	2,000
Mr. Orr, employed by Mr. Wombwell - - -	—	2,000
Mr. Willis, Sihzawal for the Vizier's tribute at Furruckabad, allowed 48,000 rupees for a battalion of infantry, 5,000 rupees for artillery, 10,000 rupees for horſe, annually, and a commiſſion of 3 per cent. upon the tribute.—N. B. The commiſſion is paid by the Nabob Muzuffer Jung		
Captain John Mordaunt -	8,000	8,000

Read the following extract of a letter from the Nabob Vizier to the Governor-general; received on 21ſt April, and entered on the ſecret proceedings of the 26th.

Extract of a Letter from the Vizier to the Governor General; received 21ſt April 1785.

With reſpect the expences of the gentlemen who are here, I have before written in a covered manner. I now write plainly, that I have no ability to give money to the gentlemen, becauſe I am indebted many lacks of rupees to the bankers, for the payment of the Company's debt. At the time of Mr. Haſtings's departure, I repreſented to him that I had no reſources for the expences of the gentlemen. Mr. Haſtings having aſcertained my diſtreſſed ſituation, told me, that after his arrival in Calcutta he would conſult with the Council, and remove from hence the expences of the gentlemen, and recall every perſon, except the gentlemen in office here. At this time, that all the concerns are dependant upon you, and you have in every point given eaſe to my mind, according to Mr. Haſtings's agreement, I hope that the expences of the gentlemen may be removed from them, and that you may recall every perſon reſiding here beyond the gentlemen in office. Although Major Palmer does not at this time demand any thing for the gentlemen, and I have no ability to give them any thing; yet the cuſtom of the Engliſh gentlemen is, when they remain here, they will in the end aſk for ſomething. This is beſt, that they ſhould be recalled.

The Board having attentively conſidered the liſt of the monthly allowances paid by the Nabob Vizier to the Company's ſervants and others at Lucknow, the following reſolutions are paſſed upon them:

Preſent Allowances at Lucknow.	*Board's Reſolutions.*
Major Palmer, agent from the Governor-general at the Durbar, for dawk eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of intelgence, ſervants, cattle, and table expences, on an average rupees 19,000 per menſem.	Agreed, That Major Palmer's allowances per menſem be reſtricted to the amount of thoſe uſually paid to a miniſter of this government at a foreign Court; which are as follows:

Sonat

	Sonat Rs.
Lieut. Colonel's pay, and double batta - -	1,488
Fixed ſalary -	1,000
Contingencies, moonſhees, ſervants, &c. -	500
Total -	2,988

Mr. Wombwell, paymaſter and accountant general, one and an half commiſſion on receipts.

Ordered, That the ſecretary do aſcertain, from Mr. Wombwell, the amount of the allowance that he draws, either from the Company or from the Vizier, for the reſpective offices of paymaſter general in the upper provinces, and accountant at Lucknow; and that Mr. Wombwell do ſtate the average monthly amount of his commiſſion.

Mr. Wheler, aſſiſtant to the accountant general, 5,000 rupees.

Ordered, That Mr. Wheler's allowances be reſtricted to Sonaut rupees 512 per month, being the allowance uſually granted to the aſſiſtants to foreign miniſters.

Commanding officers at Cawnpoor and Futty Ghur, in lieu of bazar cuſtoms, each one lack of rupees per annum, 16,666 per menſem.

Ordered, That the ſecretary do aſcertain from the records, and acquaint the Board, whether this allowance to the commanding officers in the Vizier's country has received the Board's ſanction, or whether ſuch ſanction can have been ſuppoſed to have been implied by any of the Board's proceedings.

The Board are of opinion, that this allowance ſhould be reduced, and that the camps ſhould be ſupplied as they were before it was granted, but under ſuch checks as ſhall remove

thoſe grounds of complaint from which it may have had its riſe.

Lieut. Colonel Martin, keeper of the arſenal, batta, &c. of his rank, 3,730 per menſem.

Agreed, That Lieutenant Col. Martin be reſtricted to drawing from the Vizier the difference between Lieut. Colonel's pay and double batta, and the pay and batta of a captain, which he now receives: the Vizier will of courſe defray the expence of his own arſenal.

Mr. Blaine, ſurgeon to the Vizier, and to the civil eſtabliſhment, rupees 5,000 per menſem.

Mr. Bruce, ſurgeon to the military eſtabliſhment, 2,000 per menſem.

Agreed, That Meſſrs. Blaine and Bruce be reſtricted to the pay, batta, and allowances of full ſurgeons in the field; which are as follows:

	S. rup.
Double batta, at 12 rupees per day -	360
Pay 4 rupees do. -	124
	484
Beſides the charge allowed for medicines to a full ſurgeon attached to a ſepoy regiment in the field, which is -	200
Total Sonaut rup.	684

Mr. Scawen, auditor general, 2,000 per menſem.

Ordered, That the deciſion relative to this office do lie for conſideration, but that Mr. Scawen do, in the interim, only draw the allowance that he receives from the Company, which is Sonaut rupees 1,946 per menſem.

Mr. Gall, aſſiſtant to the auditor general, 1,000 per menſem.

Mr. Gall not being a ſervant of the Company, the Board cannot authorize any allowance to this gentleman.

Major

Major Browne, on a deputation to the Shah, 3,000 per menſem.

Mr. Bird, ſecretary to do. 1,000 per do.

Lieutenant Anderſon, on a deputation to Mahajee Sindia, 3,000 rupees per menſem.

Commanding officer of the regiment ſtationed at Lucknow, for the protection of the Commpany's treaſure, rupees 2,000 per menſem.

The embaſſy to the Shah having been withdrawn, the allowances have ceaſed of courſe.

The Board cannot authorize the Vizier's allowance to Lieut. Anderſon.

The allowance to this officer muſt be reſtricted to the monthly amount paid to the commanding officer of a regiment of ſepoys, upon any particular ſervice in the Vizier's country: it is as follows:

	S. rup.
Double batta, at 30 rupees per day	900
Pay - 6 rupees do.	186
For iron, ſteel, charcoal, and repairing arms -	150
Tent allowance	150
Hircarrahs, guides, &c. - -	150
S. rupees	1,536

Captain Frith, commanding 4 battalions of ſepoys, in lieu of all charges and contingencies whatever, 5,000 per menſem.

The Board know nothing of Captain Frith's appointment, and cannot therefore authorize the allowance.

Mr. Gregory, aſſiſtant to the civil eſtabliſhment, 2,000 rupees per menſem.

Mr. Gregory is appointed in the general letter from the Court of Directors, bearing date 12th July 1782, para. 61. "to be aſſiſtant "to the revenue council at "Patna, and to ſucceed to "that chiefſhip on the firſt "vacancy."

Agreed, That his appointment, as an aſſiſtant on the civil eſtabliſhment at Lucknow, be reduced, and himſelf recalled, and

that the penſion of his rank be granted to him while he continues out of employ.

Meſſrs. Grant and Johnſtone, aſſiſtants on the civil eſtabliſhment, each 2,000 per month.

Agreed, That the appointment of theſe gentlemen be reduced, and themſelves recalled.

Mr. Taylor, dawk maſter, 1,000 rupees per menſem, for dawk, and 1,000 rupees for dawk bearers.

Agreed, That Mr. Taylor be recalled, unleſs the Governor-general ſhould think it neceſſary to his correſpondence with Lucknow, that there ſhould be a dawk maſter, in which caſe, as Mr. Taylor now holds that office, he may be continued in it for the preſent.

Mr. Orr, employed by Mr. Wombwell, 2,000 rupees per month.

Mr. Orr not being in the Company's ſervice, no allowance to him can be authorized.

Mr. Willes, ſizawal for the Vizier's tribute at Furruckabad, allowed 48,000 rupees for a battalion of infantry, 5,000 for artillery, 10,000 rupees for horſe, annually, and a commiſſion of 3 per cent. upon the tribute.

N. B.—The commiſſion is paid by the Nabob Muzuffer Jung.

Ordered, That the ſecretary do aſcertain, from Mr. Willes, the amount of the ſeveral allowances that he draws either from the Company, the Vizier, or the Nabob of Furruckabad, whether the ſame be in ſalary or commiſſion, in his office of ſizawal for the Vizier's tribute from that country.

Captain John Mordaunt 8,000 rupees per menſem.

The Board neither have authorized, nor can authorize, any allowance to Captain Mordaunt, at he is out of the Company's ſervice.

Ordered, That the foregoing reſolutions of the Board be notified to Major Palmer, in a letter from the Secretary; and that he write to him as follows:

To Major William Palmer, at Lucknow.

Sir,

The Governor-general has directed me to acknowledge his receipt of your letter, bearing date the 27th March, and encloſing a liſt of allowances from the Nabob Vizier

to

to the Company's ſervants, civil and military, and to perſons employed under them, within his Excellency's dominions. Theſe papers have been laid before the Board, and ſome reſolutions have been already paſſed, which I am ordered to communicate to you for immediate effect.

The monthly allowances drawn by yourſelf are reſtricted to the amount of thoſe uſually paid to a miniſter of this government at a foreign court, which are as follows:

Lt. Colonel's pay, and double batta - St. Rs.	1,488
Fixed ſalary - - -	1,000
Contingencies, including Moonſhees, ſervants, &c. - - - - -	500
Total St. Rs. -	2,988

Mr. Trevor Wheler, aſſiſtant to the accomptant at Lucknow, is to draw only the monthly ſalary of Sonaut rupees 512.

Lieutenant Colonel Martin is to draw only Lieutenant Colonel's pay, and double batta, his Excellency will of courſe defray the expences of his own arſenal.

Mr. Blaine, ſurgeon to the Vizier and to the civil eſtabliſhment, and Mr. Bruce, ſurgeon to the military eſtabliſhment at Lucknow, are each reſtricted to the pay, batta, and allowances of full ſurgeons in the field, which are as follows:

Double batta 12 rupees per day - St. Rs.	360
Pay 4 - - - -	124
Beſides the charge allowed for medicines to a full ſurgeon attached to a Sepoy regiment in the field, which is - - - -	200
Total Sonaut rupees -	684

The Board have it in contemplation, to reduce the appointment of Auditor-general, but while it continues, Mr. Scawn is only to draw the allowance of Sonaut rupees 1,946 per menſum.

Mr. Gall not being a ſervant to the Company, the Board cannot authorize any allowance to this gentleman.

The embaſſy to the Shah having been withdrawn, the allowances to Major Browne and Mr. Bird have ceaſed of courſe.

The Board cannot authorize the Vizier's allowance to Lt. Anderſon, Reſident with Mahajee Sindia.

The allowance to the commanding officer of the regiment ſtationed at Lucknow for the protection of the Company's treaſure, is reſtricted to the monthly amount paid

to the commanding officer of a regiment of Sepoys, employed on any particular ſervice in the Vizier's country. It is as follows:

Double batta, at 30 rupees per day	-	St. Rs. 900
Pay - 6 - -	-	186
For iron, ſteel, charcoal, and repairing arms	-	150
Tent allowance - -	-	150
Hircarrahs, guides, &c. - -	-	150
Total Sonaut rupees	-	1,536

The Board direct me to obſerve, that they know nothing of Captain Frith's appointment, and cannot therefore authorize the allowance to this officer.

Mr. Gregory's appointment, as an aſſiſtant on the civil eſtabliſhment at Lucknow, is reduced, and the penſion aſſigned to gentlemen of his rank in the ſervice is granted to him while he remains out of employ. He is recalled, with Meſſrs. Grant and Johnſtone, whoſe appointment as aſſiſtants are reduced alſo.

The Board have been pleaſed to reſolve, that Mr. Taylor be recalled, unleſs the Governor-general ſhould think it neceſſary to his correſpondence with Lucknow that there ſhould be a Dawk maſter at that place, in which caſe, as Mr. Taylor now holds that office, he is to be continued in it for the preſent.

Mr. Orr not being in the Company's ſervice, no allowance to this gentleman can be authorized.

The Board neither have authorized, nor can authorize any allowance to Captain Mordaunt, as he is not in the Company's ſervice.

No ſums having been placed in your liſt oppoſite to the names of Meſſrs. Willis and Wombwell, enquiries are ordered reſpecting the actual allowances of thoſe gentlemen, and the Board will determine on them hereafter.

The Governor-general deſires that you will be pleaſed to inform the Nabob Vizier of theſe reſolutions of the honourable Board, and communicate them alſo to the gentlemen whom they reſpectively concern. The allowances that are granted are to be conſidered as allowances from the Company, and in lieu of all others, they are to be paid by the Accountant at Lucknow, and charged in the public accounts to the Nabob's debit.

I have the honour to be, &c.

App.

(Signed) J. M'PHERSON.
J. STABLES.

Council Chamber,
Secret Department
of Inſpection,
3d May 1785.

Extract

Extract of Proceedings of the Governor-general and Council, in their Secret Department of Inſpection, the 12th May 1785.

THE Secretary lays before the Board the following letter, and its encloſures, from the Accountant at Lucknow, and military Paymaſter-general in the Upper Provinces.

Edward Hay, Eſquire, Secretary.

Sir,

In obedience to your commands, I have the honour to tranſmit to you a ſtatement of the ſums that have been received monthly by the Accountant at Lucknow. The Vizier, with the conſent of the late Governor-general, has thought proper to allow me a commiſſion of one and a half per cent. Large as the commiſſion will appear, it ſhould be remembered, that it was given to me in lieu of thoſe great advantages which I ſhould have derived from my office, if, in the courſe of the late arrangement at Lucknow, an alteration had not taken place in the exchange in the Lucknow rupees; and that after the cloſe of the preſent year, the Nabob's debt to the Company having been diſcharged, the commiſſion will be reduced to the actual diſburſements to the Company's troops in the dominions of his Excellency the Vizier.

I tranſmit alſo a ſtatement of the eſtabliſhments of the Accountant and Paymaſter-general.

I have taken the liberty to encloſe the copy of a letter I received, unſolicited, from the Vizier, the day of my departure from Lucknow.

Having occaſion for another aſſiſtant in the office of Accountant, I requeſt you will mention to the honourable Board, that a great favour will be conferred on me in the appointment of Mr. Marcus Sackville Taylor, now at Lucknow, to that office.

I am with reſpect,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient, and
moſt humble ſervant,
(Signed) J. WOMBWELL,
Account. and Paymaſter-gen. at Lucknow.

Calcutta,
12th May 1785.

Receipts of the Accountant-general.

February 1784 -	5,13,950	3	11
March - -	4,89,347	10	6
April - -	28,72,894	2	2
May - -	1,31,370	1	3

June

June - -	3,02,057	3	—
July - -	-	-	
Auguſt - -	23,48,308	2	7
September - -	3,14,000	—	—
October -	5,00,000	—	—
November - -	5,00,000	—	—
December -	20,00,000	—	—
January 1785 -	3,25,000	—	—
February - -	3,25,000	—	—
March - - -	3,25,000	—	—
Fyz. 16 Sun Sa. Rs.	1,09,45,927	5	5

The Eſtabliſhment of the Office of Paymaſter General without the Provinces.

Salary per month -	746	13	—
Batta per day, 40l. per month	1,240	—	—
Houſe rent - -	400	—	—
Allowance for Sircars Shroffs	364	—	—
Eſtabliſhment for his office	1,121	—	—
St. Rs.	3,871	13	—

The eſtabliſhment of the office of Accountant to my ſalary for the month of February - - -	1,000	—	—
To allowance for monthly writers, duſtories, ſtationary, candles, and other contingencies - - -	1,121	—	—
To allowance for houſe and office rent	400	—	—
C. Sa. Rs.	2,600	—	—

Tranſlation of a Perſian Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. John Wombwell.

WHATEVER allowances have been ſettled for your ſervices at my Sircar were voluntary, and given with all my heart; and with reſpect to the commiſſion of 1½ per cent. fixed for you upon my diſburſements to the army, it was eſtabliſhed by my conſent; and my orders are, to continue to you during your reſidence with me.

Ordered, That the commiſſion of 1½ per cent. granted by the Vizier to the Accountant at Lucknow be annulled, and do ceaſe, from the 1ſt proximo; and that Major Palmer and Mr. Wombwell be informed thereof.

The Board will take into conſideration the eſtabliſhments annexed to the Accountantſhip at Lucknow, and

to

to the office of Paymaſter-general beyond the provinces, when the reſolution of the 11th March laſt, That no civil ſervant be permitted to draw the allowances and ſalaries of more than one office, &c. ſhall be carried into execution.

The Secretary lays before the Board the following letter from the Reſident at Furruckabad:

To Mr. Edward Hay, Secretary.

Sir,

I HAVE received the honourable Board's order, tranſmitted by you reſpecting my allowances at Furruckabad.

The allowance drawn by all my predeceſſors was ſix per cent. upon whatever was collected from the Furruckabad diſtricts, and to the ſame, by my appointment, I was entitled; but by arrangements ſince my nomination I have had only 3 per cent.; and the whole that I have received this year amounts but to 10,500 rupees. This is from the Nabob Muzuffer Jung. I have no allowance from the Company or the Vizier.

The eſtabliſhment to the Sezawal's office for Muttaſeddies, Moonſhies, and Writers, &c. is ten thouſand rupees, which does not near defray the expence.

This is deducted from the Vizier's tribute.

There is a further deduction from the tribute, of fifty-one thouſand rupees, for the payment of the Nujubs, which his Excellency the Vizier maintains in Furrucka- for the protection of the Nabob Muzuffer Jung, as ſtipulated by an expreſs article in the laſt treaty between them.

I am, Sir,

Calcutta, your moſt obedient ſervant,

10th May 1785. (Signed) J. WILLIS, Reſident.

The Board having it in contemplation to propoſe ſome ſome arrangements for Furrckabad, ordered, That the foregoing letter from the Reſident do lie for conſideration until that period.

Read the following letter from the Secretary:

To the Honourable John Macpherſon, Governor-general, &c. Council, in the Secret Department of Inſpection.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Having been required by your orders of the 3d inſtant to aſcertain from the records, and acquaint the Board, whether the allowance of two lacks of rupees per annum, received by the commanding officers in the Vizier's country in lieu of Bazar cuſtoms, has had the poſitive or implied

plied ſanction of this government, I beg leave to lay before you the following particulars, which are all that I can find in the Conſultations on this ſubject.

An Arzee is recorded on the proceedings of the 2d November 1780, from Rajah Govind Ram, the Vakeel of the Nawaub Vizier, encloſing the copy of a letter that he had received from his Excellency, in which the Nawaub obſerved that the gentlemen ſtationed with the brigade at Cawnpore, Furruckabad, &c. wrote Perwannahs to the Aumils for every place, directing them to ſupply proviſions and other neceſſaries for the army; that this method of proceeding brought great diſtreſs on his country, and he therefore wiſhed it to be repreſented to the Governor-general, that it might be prevented in future, and that the gentlemen of the army might not ſend Sepoys into his diſtricts; the Vizier ſaid alſo, that on information being given to him and to the Company's Reſident at this court, of the quantity of proviſions wanted, orders ſhould be immediately iſſued to the Aumils to furniſh it every month, and the amount ſhould be deducted from the Tuncaws.

Nothing appears to have been determined on the ſubject of this application until the 15th February 1781, when it was renewed in a letter from the Vizier to the Governor-general, and in a ſecond from his Excellency to his Vakeel; the latter ſtates the complaint more at large than it was ſtated before, and eſtimates the loſs ſuſtained in the Nawaub's revenue, from the conduct of the Engliſh officers at Cawnpore and Futty Ghur, at 3 lacks of rupees.

The late Governor general obſerved, on ſubmitting theſe repreſentations to the Board, that the exerciſe of ſuch a power as the Nawaub deſired might be done away, muſt be inevitably attended with effects aſcribed to it, and therefore ought to be ſuppreſſed, whether it were for the removal of paſt, or for the prevention of the future and only poſſible oppreſſions; and for theſe reaſons and ends the Governor-general propoſed that a general order ſhould be iſſued to the army ſerving in the dominions of the Nawaub Vizier, ſtating his Excellency's complaints, and his conſequent propoſal to furniſh the fixed military ſtations in his country with ample ſupplies of proviſions and neceſſaries through his reſpective Aumils reſiding neareſt to thoſe ſtations, if it ſhould be found neceſſary to employ their agency; and commanding in the moſt poſitive manner that from the firſt day of April 1781, no officer commanding at the fixed ſtations of Cawnpore, Futty Ghur, or Darnagur, or any other fixed or occaſional ſtation of the army, ſhould on any account or pre-

tence

tence whatſoever iſſue Duſtucks, Perwannahs, or other inſtruments, nor levy or receive, nor ſuffer any perſons acting under his authority to levy or receive, duties upon articles brought into the camp or other Bazares, nor erect or poſſeſs Gunges, nor ſend out military guards for the purpoſe of ſeizing any ſort of proviſion, neceſſaries, or merchandize, nor in any manner directly or indirectly impede the free progreſs or paſſage of any native merchant or dealer through any part of the dominions of the Nawaub of Owde.

The Governor-general obſerved, on propoſing this regulation, that as in redreſſing the injury done to the Nawaub it might deprive the commanding officers of a long-eſtabliſhed, and under juſt reſtrictions, perhaps a juſt, perquiſite in the duties collected upon the proviſions and neceſſaries voluntarily brought into the camp, he thought it juſt to recommend that the Nawaub ſhould be requeſted to grant a monthly gratuity in compenſation for the emoluments thus taken from the commanding officers for the better regulation of his government and revenues.

The general order was agreed to and iſſued, and the Governor-general was requeſted to inform the Vizier of the regulation contained in it, and urge him to grant ſuch a gratuity, in lieu of the emoluments taken from the commanding officers, as he and Mr. Middleton might mutually agree upon as equitable, the ſame being previouſly ſubmitted to the board for their approval.

It appears by a letter from Mr. Middleton, dated the 13th April, and recorded in conſultation 4th June 1781, that the Vizier had chearfully aſſented to the recommendation made to him, and that he immediately ſent his propoſals to the commanding officers of the 2d brigade, and of the Darnagur detachment. Theſe propoſitions, with the anſwers to them, ſhewed the final plan of adjuſtment, and Mr. Middelton laid them before the Board.

The gratuity fixed on by the Vizier for the commanding officer of the 2d brigade was one lack of rupees per annum, to commence from the 1ſt April 1781, and to be paid monthly; and the gratuity fixed on by the Vizier for the commanding officer at Darnagur was 36,000 rupees per annum.

No reſolution, appoving or diſapproving this allowance, appears to have been entered on the records, nor was any thing done upon the general ſubject, except that a reference was made to the commander in chief of ſome propoſitions laid before the Board by Colonel James Morgan, in conſequence of the order of the 15th February, and his opinion was deſired upon them.—An extract of Mr. Middelton's letter, and copies of the papers accompanying

companying it, were at the ſame time ſent to the General. I cannot, however, find any anſwer from the commander in chief to theſe references, nor do I believe that any were ſent in.

I have the honour, &c.

Fort William, honourable Sir and Sirs,
Secret Depart. of Inſp. Yours, &c.
7th May 1785. (Siged) E. HAY, Sec.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, 13th May 1785.

SOME doubts having been ſuggeſted with reſpect to the meaning that be given to that part of the letter written to Major Palmer on the 3d inſtant, which ſtates, that the allowances therein granted to the Company's ſervants at Lucknow were to be conſidered as allowances from the Company, and in lieu of all others; agreed, that the Secretary do acquaint Major Palmer, that theſe ſeveral allowances were fixed by the Board, as connected with the reſpective ſituations and offices of the gentlemen who are to draw them, but are not to deprive thoſe gentlemen of the allowances to which they are entitled, according to their rank in the civil or military ſervice of the Company.

Extract of Secret Letter from Bengal; 16th May 1785.

WE have the honour to acquaint you, that we have made very conſiderable reductions in ſome of the allowances paid by the Vizier to your ſervants, &c. at Lucknow, and annulled others. The total ſaving amounts to more than twelve lacks per annum. The particulars will be mentioned to you by the firſt opportunity that may offer for our tranſmitting to you fuller advices. We have ordered, that the allowances which are either agreed to or permitted by this government ſhall be recorded on your public accounts, and paid by your Accountant at Lucknow. We alſo think it neceſſary to inform you, that we are proceeding in the work of retrenchment with all poſſible diſpatch.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 26th May 1785.

To the Vizier: Written 12th May 1785.

I HAVE the pleaſure to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, containing requeſts that you may be relieved, as much as poſſible, from expence for the gentlemen ſtationed at Lucknow. This is a matter full of important benefits,

benefits, and I have attended to your wiſhes therein.—Accordingly ſome arrangements have been already reſolved on, the particulars of which will be communicated to you by Major Palmer.

Secret Department of Inſpection.

Fort William, 28th June 1785.

At a Council; Preſent,
The Honourable John Macpherſon, Eſquire, Governor-general, Preſident,
John Stables, Eſquire, and
The Honourable Charles Stuart.

Read and approved the proceedings of yeſterday.

Read the following letter from the Governor-general to the Vizier and his miniſters, and the Vizier's reply.

To the Vizier: Written 12th May 1785.

I HAVE the pleaſure to acknowledge the receipt of two of your letters, containing requeſts that you may be relieved as much as poſſible from expence for the gentlemen ſtationed at Lucknow. This is a matter full of important benefits; and I have attended to your wiſhes therein accordingly. Some arrangements have been already reſolved on, the particulars of which will be communicated to you by Major Palmer, to whom I refer you.

To Hyder Beg Khan, and Huſſen Reza Khan, of the ſame tenor and date.

From the Vizier: Received 21ſt June 1785.

YOUR agreeable letter has arrived; and what you have ordered on the ſubject of the relieving me from the expences of the gentlemen, I learnt fully from the repreſentations of Major Palmer, and became grateful for your favours and friendſhip. From your true affection I am convinced, that you will be favourable in relieving me from other expences alſo, becauſe the particulars of my diſtreſſes are well known to you.

The Secretary lays before the Board the following letter from Major Palmer:

To

To Edward Hay, Eſquire, Secretary to the Secret Department, Fort William.

Sir,

WHEN I had the honour to receive your letters of the 3d, 12th, and 13th ultimo, I was labouring under a very ſevere indiſpoſition, which to this time has rendered me wholly incapable of any application to buſineſs; the ſubſtance of their communications has, however, been given to his Excellency the Vizier, who entertains a very grateful ſenſe of the attention which the honourable Board have beſtowed upon the ſtate of his finances, and of the reductions which they have ordered for his relief. Upon this ſubject, and alſo thoſe of the requiſitions for the payment of the two Roſſalahs of Mogul cavalry, and the Company of foreign infantry, I have had the honour to tranſmit the Vizier's anſwer to the honourable the Governor-general.

I have not yet been able to notify in form the reſolutions of the Board to the ſeveral gentlemen who are affected by them, but ſhall proceed to do it immediately. You have not ſignified the intention of the Board as to the time when the reductions ſhould take place, except thoſe of the account general and commanding officers at Cawnpoor and Futtyghur; and it is doubtful whether the others are to have the ſame commencement, or that of the period which I informed the Governor-general I conſidered as terminating the authority by which I had acted in applying for the former allowances, that is, the departure of the late Governor-general from Lucknow. You will be ſo good as to inform the Accomptant-general at this ſtation of the Board's deciſion upon this point.

I am, Sir,
your moſt obedient ſervant,
(Signed) WM. PALMER.

Lucknow,
10th June 1785.

Ordered, That Major Palmer be informed, that the Vizier's allowances to the ſervants of the Company, and others at Lucknow, were not authorized by the Members of this government, who had no account or knowledge of them until they were ſtated by Major Palmer; that the Board connot interfere in the ſubject; and that they leave it to the Nabob to do as he may think proper.

Ordered, That this information be communicated to Lt. Colonel Harper, and to the Accountant at Lucknow.

(Signed) JOHN MACPHERSON.
JOHN STABLES.
CHARLES STUART.

Extract

Extract of Letter from the Governor General and Council, in their Secret Department of Inſpection; dated the 31ſt July 1785.

Par. 2. Among other objects of reform, which called for our attention, was the relief of your ally, the Nabob Vizier, from the very heavy burthen which report informed us was impoſed upon him, in the allowances granted to your ſervants and others, reſident in his dominions, but granted without our knowledge or approbation. The Governor-general having received from Major Palmer an account of all theſe allowances, laid the ſame before us for our conſideration. Major Palmer's letter to the Governor-general, and the ſtatement which accompanied it, are recorded in the Conſultation noted in the margin *. The following orders and reſolutions were paſſed thereupon, and communicated to the Nabob Vizier and Major Palmer, for immediate effect.

3. We reſtricted the allowances to the Governor General's agent at Lucknow to the amount uſually paid to a miniſter of this government at a foreign court; viz. Sonat rupees 2,988 per month.

4. We reduced Mr. Wheler's allowances as Aſſiſtant to the Accountant at Lucknow, to the amount uſually granted to the aſſiſtants to foreign miniſters; viz. Sonat rupees 512 per month.

5. We permitted Lieutenant Colonel Martin, Keeper of the Nabob Vizier's arſenal, to draw only the difference between his pay and batta as a captain, which he receives from the Company, and the pay and double batta of his rank as Lieutenant Colonel.

6. We directed that Mr. Blaine and Mr. Bruce, ſurgeons to the Vizier, and to the civil and military eſtabliſhments at Lucknow, ſhould draw only the pay, batta, and allowances of full ſurgeons in the field; viz. Sonat rupees 684 per month.

7. We reſtricted the allowances to the officer commanding the regiment at Lucknow to the monthly amount paid to the commanding officer of a regiment of Sepoys on ſervice in the Vizier's dominions; viz. Sonat rupees 1,536 per month.

8. The ſalaries paid to Major Browne, and his ſecretary, Mr. Bird, ceaſed of courſe, in conſequence of the embaſſy to Shah Allum having been withdrawn; and the Governor-general's agent has been directed to acquaint the Vizier, that thoſe paid to Lieutenant Anderſon, Reſident with Mahajee Sindia; to Captain Frith; to Mr.

Conſ. 3d May.

Gall, assistant to the Auditor General; and, to Mr. Orr, assistant to Mr. Wombwell, cannot be authorized.

9. We have annulled the appointments of Messrs. Gregory, Grant, and Johnstone, as assistants to the civil establishment at Lucknow, as well as that of Mr. Taylor, the Dawk master; but the Governor-general has been authorized by us to continue that gentleman in his station, if he should think it necessary to his correspondence at Lucknow, that there should be a Dawk master there.

10. Having called upon Mr. Wombwell, the Paymaster-general and Accountant at Lucknow, to state to us the amount which he drew either from the Company or from the Vizier for these offices, and to acquaint us with the average monthly amount of his commission; and having received from that gentleman an account of the same, we resolved that his commission should be annulled from the 1st of June, and that the establishment of his offices of Accountant at Lucknow, and Paymaster-general beyond the provinces, should be taken into consideration, when our resolution of the 11th of March last, that no civil servant should be permitted to draw the allowances and salaries of more than one office, should be carried into execution.

11. The allowances granted by the Vizier, of one lack of rupees per annum to the officers commanding in his Excellency's dominions, in lieu of Bazar customs, have been discontinued, and the mode which was in practice before the year 1781, for supplying the camp Bazars in the Nabob's country with provisions, has been renewed under the following regulations; which, we doubt not, will ensure constant supplies to the army, and prevent all grounds of complaint from his Excellency's officers in future, similar to those which gave occasion to the former regulation.

1st. "That the commanding officers do not, on any "account whatsoever, issue Purwannahs for any articles "but the provisions actually required for the consumption and use of officers, soldiers, and camp followers, "at their respective stations.

2dly. "That they do not collect duties upon any "articles before such articles shall be brought into their "Bazars. Every commanding officer being, in a great "measure, responsible for the supply of his camp, these "duties will of course be reasonable, or no provisions "will be broughtin to it; there is therefore no occasion to "restrict their amount; besides, the Board have an entire "confidence in the commanding officers, that no duties "will be levied but such as are necessary for the general

"regulation

" regulation of the prices of the proviſions, and for de-
" fraying the expence of their Cutwally eſtabliſhment.

3dly. " That no military guards be ſent out for the
" purpoſe of ſeizing proviſions or merchandize, or per-
" mitted to impede in any manner, directly or indirectly,
" the free progreſs or paſſage of any native merchant or
" dealer, through any part of the dominions of the Na-
" bob of Oude.

4thly. " That no officer under the commanding of-
" ficer be allowed the privilege of iſſuing a Purwanna for
" proviſions, unleſs ſuch officer be employed on detach-
" ment, and receive the authority of his commanding
" officer for this purpoſe.

5thly. " That every officer iſſuing Purwannas for
" proviſions, &c. be careful to receive back ſuch Pur-
" wannas, on return of the perſons to camp to whom
" they were delivered; and if the whole quantity ſpeci-
" fied in each be not brought in at one time, new Pur-
" wannas are to be granted for the remainder.

6thly. " That all officers do keep a regiſter of all
" Purwannas granted by them reſpectively, that no im-
" proper uſe may be made of them, or if detected, that
" the perſons to whom they were delivered may be iden-
" tified, and puniſhed.

" Any diſobedience in any officer to the rules here laid
" down will, on proof thereof, be conſidered as diſobe-
" dience of orders, and treated accordingly."

12. The office of Auditor-general of the accounts of the troops ſerving beyond the Provinces has been aboliſhed, and theſe accounts are in future to be audited by the Commiſſary-general, in the ſame manner as before the appointment of Auditor-general beyond the Carumnaſſa took place, Mr. Scawen, who held this office, is admitted to the ſtation of Deputy Commiſſary-general, in obedience to the orders of your honourable Court of the 17th May 1780, and in the room of Mr. William Atkinſon, who has reſigned.

13. We have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that the Governor-general has received a letter from the Vizier, expreſſing his gratitude for our interference in his behalf, and for the relief which we have thus afforded him, which we truſt will enable his Excellency to diſcharge with punctuality the claims which we have upon him on account of the troops ſtationed for the defence of his country.

14. A queſtion having been ſtated to us by Major Palmer, at what period the reductions we had ordered ſhould take place, we acquainted him in reply, that as

the former allowances were not authorized by us, and as we had no knowledge of them, till they were ſtated to us by himſelf, we could not interfere in the ſubject, but left it to the Nabob to do as he might think proper.

Allowances in Oude.

Liſt of Allowances from the Nabob Vizier to the Servants of the Company, Civil and Military, employed in his Excellency's Dominions.

	Monthly.	
	Former Allowances.	Preſent Allowances.
Major Palmer, agent from the Governor-general at the Durbar, for dawks, eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of intelligence, ſervants, cattle, and table expences, upon an average	—	19,000
Mr. Wombwell, paymaſter and accountant-general, one and a half commiſſion on receipts -		
Mr. Wheler, aſſiſtant to Mr. Wombwell - - -	5,000	5,000
Commanding Officers at Cawnpoor and Futtyghur, in lieu of Bazar cuſtoms, each one lack of rupees per annum - - -	—	16,666
Lieutenant Colonel Martin, keeper of the arſenal, pay, batta of his rank	—	3,730
Mr. Blaine, ſurgeon to the Vizier, and to the civil eſtabliſhment -	8,000	5,000
Mr. Bruce, do. to the military eſtabliſhment - -	3,000	2,000
Mr. Scawen, auditor general -	—	2,000
Mr. Gall, aſſiſtant to do. -	—	1,000
Major Browne, on a deputation to the Shah - - -	—	3,000
Mr. Bird, ſecretary to do. -	—	1,000
Lieutenant Anderſon, on a deputation to Mahajee Sindia - -	—	3,000
Commanding Officer of the regiment ſtationed at Lucknow, for the protection of the Company's treaſury	—	2,000

Captain

Captain Frith, commanding four battalions of Sepoys, in lieu of all charges and contingencies whatever	—	5,000
Mr. Gregory, aſſiſtant on the civil eſtabliſhment - -	3,000	2,000
Meſſrs. Grant and Johnſtone, ditto, each 2,000 rupees -	—	4,000
Mr. Taylor, dawk maſter, 1,000 rupees for dawks, and 1,000 rupees for dawk bearers - -	—	2,000
Mr. Orr, employed by Mr. Wombwell - - -	—	2,000
Mr. Willis, Sihzawal for the Vizier's tribute at Furruckabad, allowed 48,000 rupees for a battalion of infantry, 5,000 rupees for artillery, 10,000 rupees for horſe, annually, and a commiſſion of 3 per cent. upon the tribute.—N. B. The commiſſion is paid by the Nabob Muzuffer Jung		
Captain John Mordaunt -	8,000	8,000

Extract of Secret Letter from Bengal; 16*th May* 1785.

We have the honour to acquaint you, that we have made very conſiderable reductions in ſome of the allowances paid by the Vizier to your ſervants, &c. at Lucknow, and annulled others. The total ſaving amounts to more than twelve lacks per annum. The particulars will be mentioned to you by the firſt opportunity that may offer for our tranſmitting to you fuller advices. We have ordered, that the allowances which are either agreed to or permitted by this government ſhall be recorded on your public accounts, and paid by your Accountant at Lucknow. We alſo think it neceſſary to inform you, that we are proceeding in the work of retrenchment with all poſſible diſpatch.

Copy

COPY OF A LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT COLONEL HARPER TO THE HON. JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ. GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BENGAL, DATED THE 20*th* OF SEP.; AND, OF ANOTHER LETTER DATED THE 25*th* OF OCTOBER 1785, RELATIVE TO THE STATE AND CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE OF OUDE, AND THE PAYMENT OF THE BALANCES DUE FROM THE NABOB VIZIER TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 11*th October* 1785.

THE Governor-general lays before the Board the following letter, which he has received from Lieutenant Colonel Harper, and from the Vizier and his miniſters.

To the Honourable John Macpherſon, Eſq. Governor-general, &c. &c. &c.

Honourable Sir,

The incloſed copy of a letter, which I this day received from Mr. Wombwell, the Accomptant here, will ſhew you, that the balance of the crore and five lacks of rupees, due from the Vizier's government to the honourable Company for the Fuſſullee year 1192, is now finally ſettled.

I ſhall proceed with the Vizier and his miniſters to make out the eſtimate for the enſuing year; and, knowing the neceſſities of your government, and the protection afforded to the Nabob's dominions by the Britiſh troops, my utmoſt endeavours ſhall be exerted to make the ſupplies as conſiderable as poſſible, and to obtain a ſum of ready money to pay off the arrears to that part of the army at preſent ſtationed for the ſecurity of theſe provinces.

I have the honour to ſubſcribe myſelf,
with the greateſt reſpect,
Honourable Sirs,
your faithful ſervant,
(Signed) G. HARPER,
Miniſ. Gov. Gen. at Lucknow.

Lucknow,
the 20th Sept. 1785.

Sir, The 20th Sept. 1785, Lucknow.

I have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that I have this moment received from the Miniſter the bills on Calcutta and Surat, and which complete the agreement of his Highneſs

Highneſs the Vizier with the honourable Company for the Fuſſullee year 1192.

I am, with reſpect,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
and moſt humble ſervant,
J. WOMBWELL.
Accomptant.

Lieut. Col. G. Harper,
Miniſter for the Governor-general at the Court of the Vizier.

A true copy.
(Signed) G. Harper,
Miniſter, Lucknow.

From the Vizier: Received 3d October 1785.

By the bleſſing of God, and the good favour and aſſiſtance of your Excellency, one kwſe and five lacks of rupees of the money of the Company's Sircar have been, without balance, paid according to engagement, from the collections of the money, and the loans of the bankers. In return for the favours that you have, on every reſpect, given me eaſe of mind and confidence, and that my miniſters and the bankers, being comforted, have paid the money of the Company's government, I bring thanks and praiſes from my tongue, and may the Almighty preſerve you for theſe attentions to friendſhip! My friendly heart is convinced, that by the bleſſing of God and your favours, in future alſo the money of the Company's Sircar will be properly paid, and the management of this concern, and the cultivation of the country, will be cauſe of a daily increaſe of reputation to you.—My hope from your kindneſs is this, that you will always continue fixed in the ſame favour of heart to my concerns.

From Hyder Beg Khan: Received 3d October 1785.

By the bleſſing of God, and your Excellency's favours and aſſiſtance, the money of the Company's Sircar one crſe, and five lacks of rupees, which in the year 1192 Fuſſillee had been engaged by his Highneſs, has been paid without balance, from the collections of the country and the loans of the bankers. The good ſtate of the affairs of both governments, and the payment of the money of the Company's Sircar, and the cultivation of the country, are ſolely from your Excellency's favours; that you have in every reſpect granted ſtrength to his Highneſs, and have beſtowed favours and kindneſſes upon us, from which eaſe of mind having been received, the completion of the monies of the Company's Sircar has properly taken place. I return thanks for your kindneſſes and favours. In future alſo, the bleſſing of God and the favours of your

your Excellency, the completion of the monies of the Company's Sircar, and the payment of the debts to the bankers, and the cultivation of the country, will properly take place.—Every hand is employed in prayers for the increaſe of your life and dignity.

To the Honourable John Macpherſon, Eſq. Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Honourable Sir,

I have already had the pleaſure to acquaint you, under date the 20th ultimo, of the final ſettlement of the crore and five lacks of rupees which were paid by the Nabob to the honourable Company: I have the honour now to inform you, that for the ſervice of the preſent Fuſſullee year 1193, beginning the 19th of laſt mouth, and ending in September following, the Vizier and his miniſters have agreeed to furniſh ſixty-five lacks of rupees, which, by the account I now incloſe, you will perceive provides for the ſums that I have been directed to bring into the account with this government, as well as the arrears of the Futty Ghur detachment, the ſubſidy for the Cawnpoor brigade, and part of the eſtimate for the Futty Ghur troops for the preſent year 1193. And the Vizier and his miniſters, approving the preſent mode of carrying on the buſineſs of this court with your preſidency, being ſenſible of its utility to both governments, being deſirous of relieving the honourable Company from any expence, where they derive at leaſt an equal advantage from the cauſe of it, and to teſtify alſo their ſenſe of your attention to their convenience, in reducing the expence of ſalaries, beg me to entreat, you will allow them to defray the arrears and ſalaries of the preſent year to the ſervants of the reſidency here, and allowances to the military officers, who, by your orders of the 3d of May laſt, are entitled to receive them, the account of which I have now the honour to tranſmit; whereby you will perceive, that it will prove a ſaving to the honourable Company of 1,62,164 rupees; ſo that in fact, the money that is to be paid by this government for the ſervice of yours for this year, will be a clear net revenue, unattended with any expence or diminution.

The kiſts or monthly payments for the preſent year, of 3,25,000 rupees, will be regularly paid, and which, when the arrears to the troops ſhall be in part wholly liquidated, will be found I hope ſufficient for both ſtations; and to enable you to pay off as much of thoſe arrears as they can, the miniſters agree to furniſh, over and above the regular kiſts, whatever is poſſible between this time and the

the 15th of December: a particular account of which, as well as the Kiſtbundee itſelf, I ſhall have the honour to forward, as ſoon as the ſum can be aſcertained. In the mean time I am endeavouring, with the aſſiſtance of the miniſter, to obtain ready money, by every means in my power, to relieve the preſent diſtreſſes of the troops.

I have alſo the honour to tell you, that the Vizier and his miniſters, looking to future events, and a firmer eſtabliſhment of friendſhip with the honourable Company, have, I think, in contemplation to propoſe to you a ſpecific ſum for the ſervice of the Fuſſellee year 1194; and as ſoon as there ſhall remain no doubt of the preſent harveſt ſucceeding as happily as it promiſes (on which every thing depends) I hope to acquaint you with the amount; and if you approve of my doing ſo, I ſhall urge it at the proper ſeaſon, and endeavour to obtain a fund at leaſt equal to your expences, ſo that the diſburſements for both years ſhall be completely provided for.

When I make this communication of what appears to me to be favourable events, I muſt acquaint you with the ſource from whence they ſpring. It is, Sir, the confidence you have, by your actions towards this government, eſtabliſhed in the minds of the Vizier and his miniſters, of your fixed reſolution to ſupport them in all their rights, demanding nothing but what is juſt for the protection afforded their country, and enabling them to take meaſures to revive the proſperity and happineſs of theſe provinces, which already begin to wear a face of joy: hence they have the ability to furniſh theſe ſupplies ſo ſoon after paying off ſo large a ſum of money as the honourable Company's late accumulated debt. At the ſame time I muſt acquaint you, Sir, that the Nabob and his miniſters have ſtrained every nerve on this occaſion to teſtify their deſire to aſſiſt the honourable Company; and particularly to convince you, Sir, and the gentlemen who compoſe the preſent honourable Board, of their high reſpect and veneration.

And that I might, as much as lay within the compaſs of my own abilities, be aſſiſting to theſe ends, and to enable the Vizier and his miniſters not only to fulfil their late engagements, but to provide as amply as poſſible for the future expences of the troops, and other exigencies of the honourable Company, I have, upon a repreſentation from the miniſter, that the revenue was much injured by the monopoly of ſaltpetre, abſolutely given up all pretenſions to it, nor will I employ any agent to make or purchaſe a ſingle maund.

The monopoly of ſaltpetre has been ſo long attached to the office of Reſident at this place, that it has been

looked on as a perquiſite of right; and when I give it up, I know I part with twenty thouſand pounds ſterling per annum; but twenty thouſand pounds a year bears no eſtimation in my mind, when the relinquiſhing it ſerves to promote the public ſervice, and to obtain the approbation of you, Sir, and of the honourable Board, who have in ſo flattering a manner ratified your nomination of me to this office, and from whom it is I hope to receive the reward I ſhall endeavour to deſerve.

I eſteem it the moſt fortunate event of my life, that I have been ſelected to aſſiſt your endeavours to promote the public ſervice, and to procure happineſs to this almoſt ruined country. I claim no merit beyond a deſire to execute your wiſhes, and the plan you have laid down, which you have enabled me to do by the ſupport you have given me; and even this would have been inſufficient, had it not been attended by a noble confidence and friendſhip, which, whilſt it ſtimulated me to an ardent deſire to do my duty, aſſured me I had nothing to dread as long as my conduct tended to promote the general good.

The late Governor-general, ſoon after his arrival in Bengal, thought proper to remove me from a very honourable ſtation I then held at the Court of Sujah ul Dowlah. Before his departure, however, from India, he was ſo good as acquaint me with his reaſons for doing it; and I muſt own they would have been juſt, had they ever exiſted: it is foreign to my purpoſe to trouble you with them at this time—ſuffice it to ſay, that Mr. Haſtings, the day before he left Calcutta, did me the honour to aſſure me "he had always approved my former conduct, which, had he continued in the government, he would have given me proofs of; that he could then only aſſiſt me by recommending me to his ſucceſſor as a perſon fit to be employed in public truſt." Mr. Haſtings did ſpeak to you, Sir, and you have ſelected me, almoſt a perfect ſtranger to your acquaintance, and in preference to many gentlemen who had the neareſt claims on you, to fill the moſt important ſtation which I conceive an individual can enjoy under your government; for this friendſhip, and flattered by the motives of your partiality, it is but bare duty in me to make you every return in my power, by a faithful diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in me: but, Sir, my honour and gratitude prompt me to much more than this; and when I expreſs my hopes of your continuance in the firſt office in India, and for health to do the arduous duties of it, I know I am wiſhing for the greateſt good fortune to the honourable Company's poſſeſſions, as well as to theſe provinces.

I flatter

I flatter myſelf the honourable Board's approbation and ratification will follow this communication of what I have done with this government, and after providing for all the articles of the general account, and ſupplying as much as poſſible for the arrears and expences of all the troops at Cawnpoor and Futty Ghur, to the end of this Fuſſullee year 1193, that is in September 1786, the Vizier and his miniſters hope you will be pleaſed and ſatisfied with their conduct, and give them an acquittal of public demands. I wiſh, Sir, you may perceive the good effects that will ſurely ariſe from this mutual attention to each other's confidence and convenience; it will be the means I hope of getting more in the next year than you may obtain for the ſpecific article of pay to the Futty Ghur detachment—it will certainly tend to improve the revenues of this country, whence your government may on any future emergency draw very great reſources, and it will aſſiſt to obliterate the recollection of ſome paſt acts that perhaps had better never happened, and the immediate profits of which have probably not compenſated for the opinions thoſe acts have ſerved to eſtabliſh in the minds of the princes and people of all the provinces of India. It is under your adminiſtration, Sir, that I am confident we are to ſee thoſe ſentiments revive which formerly were of more conſequence than even our military character, and both united made the Britiſh arms invincible, and their name the admiration of the Eaſt.

I have thus preſumed, from a principle of duty, to touch on points not immediately though relatively connected with the original ſubject of this addreſs. I ſhould think myſelf unworthy the poſt I hold to have been at this time totally ſilent on them, profeſſing, as I do, the higheſt reſpect, and taking pride in ſubſcribing myſelf,

Honourable Sir,

Your faithful ſervant,

Lucknow,
25th Oct. 1785.

(Signed) GABRIEL HARPER,
Miniſter for the Governor-general
at the Vizier's Court.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

ESTIMATE

ESTIMATE of CLAIMS for 1193.

ARMY.

Arrears Futtyghur detachments	11,60,000	
Brigade for 12 months -	31,20,000	
Regiments at Lucknow - -	3,00,000	
Futtyghur detachments -	17,40,000	
		63,20,000
Mirza Saudit Ally - -		2,00,000
Rohilla ſtipends - - -		61,578
Mr. Fraſer's bond, and intereſts - -		1,70,000
Intereſt due to the Shroffs - -		4,00,000
Contingent bills of Majors Lumſdain, Gilpin, Captain Dennis, &c.; and arrears reſident's guard - - -		1,29,456
Abdul Rheman Cawn's Candahar cavalry -		76,000
Batta to the Shroffs 5. 9. 3 on the balance due them when the late Governor fixed the Lucknow Sicca Rupees to paſs as of equal value with the Fyzabad 16 Suns -		71,910
Lucknow Sicca Rupees -		74,28,944

The Vizier and his miniſters, in compliance with the deſire of the Board communicated to Lieutenant Colonel Harper, have conſented to include the ſum of 71,910 rupees, for batta to the ſhroffs; but obſerves, that if the honourable Board will be ſo good as order an inveſtigation of this tranſaction, it will be diſcovered, that it has already been adjuſted with the ſhroffs, and that their preſent demand is not founded in juſtice.

(Signed) GABRIEL HARPER,
Miniſ. Lucknow, for the G. General

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.